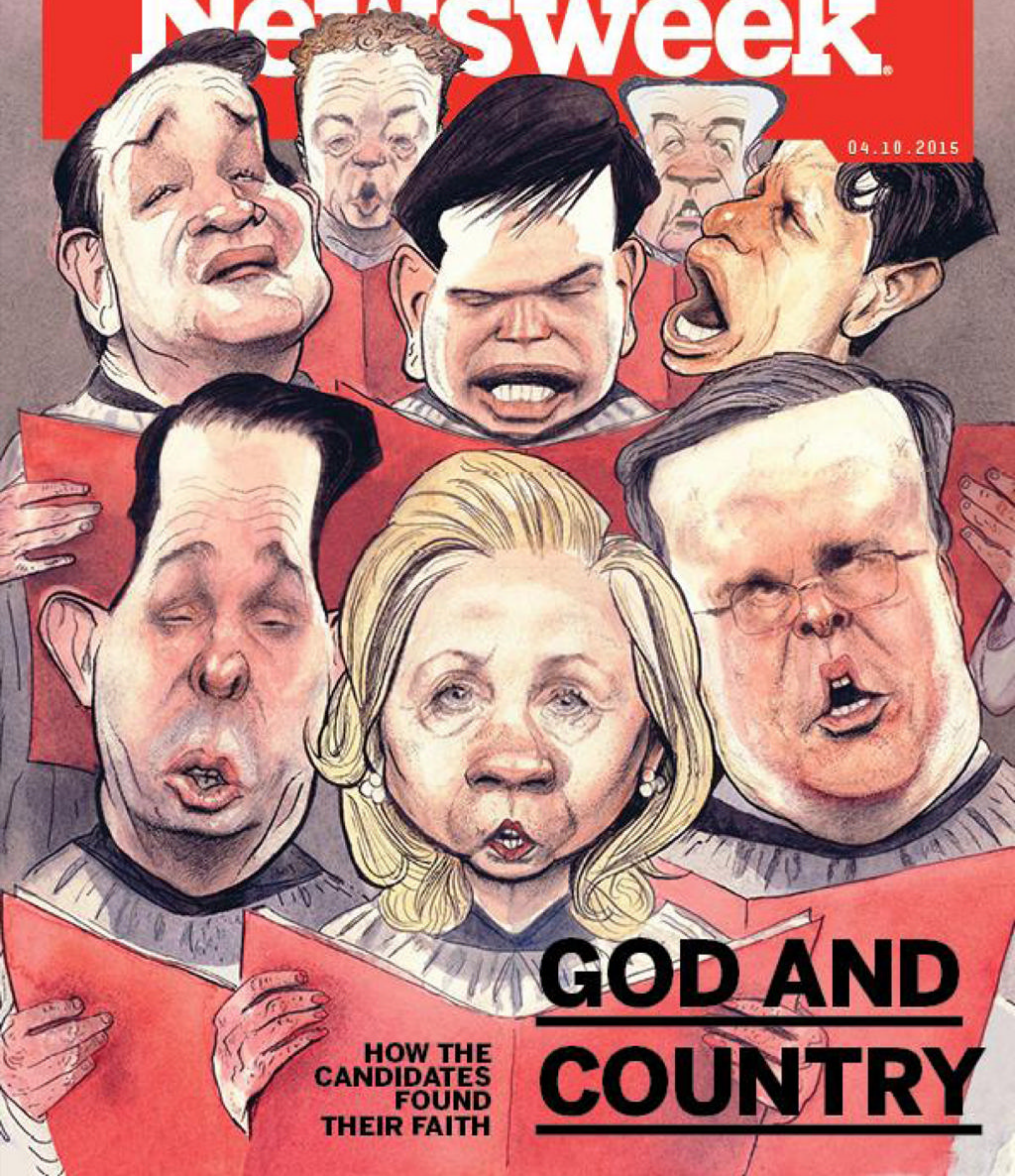


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HOW THE
CANDIDATES
FOUND
THEIR FAITH

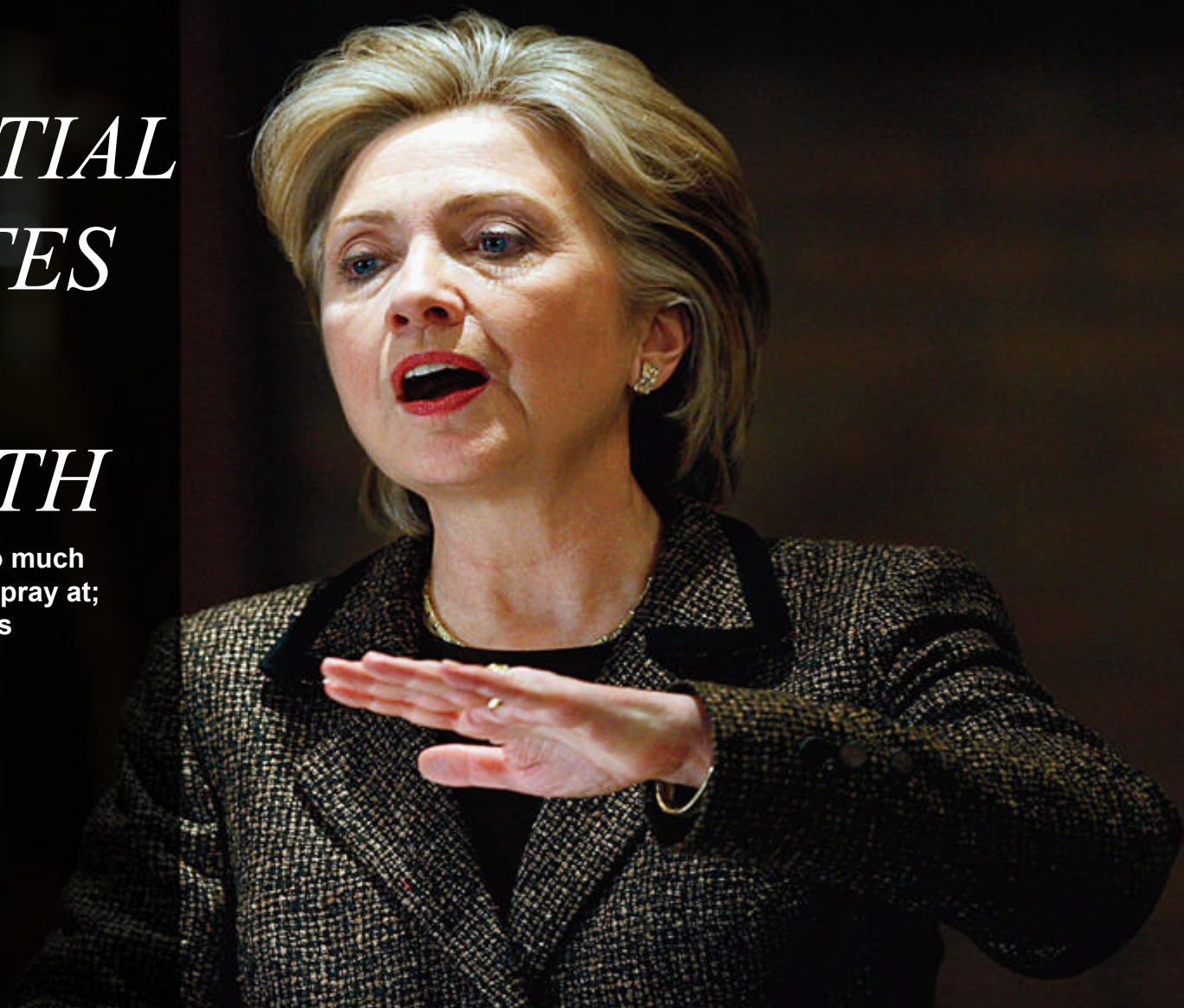
GOD AND COUNTRY

Newsweek

FEATURES

HOW THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOUND THEIR FAITH

Americans don't seem to care too much about which church their leaders pray at; they just want them on their knees



*HOW A BLOODY BRAWL
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*NICHOLAS
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BIG SHOTS

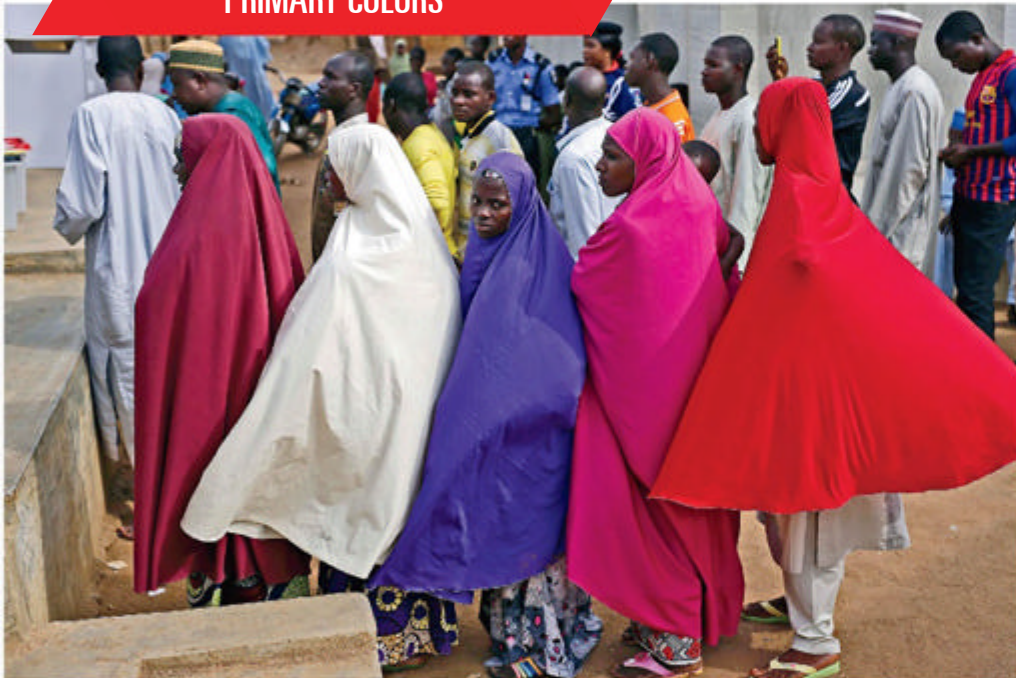
GARDEN OF GOOD AND EVIL



STEP BY STEP



PRIMARY COLORS



BURIED





Joshua Lott/The New York Times/Redux

HOW THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOUND THEIR FAITH

**AMERICANS DON'T SEEM TO CARE TOO MUCH ABOUT
WHICH CHURCH THEIR LEADERS PRAY AT; THEY JUST
WANT THEM ON THEIR KNEES**

It was built in the 1920s in the Spanish Mission style, topped by one of those red clay tile roofs so popular in South Florida back then. The Catholics laid their foundation just a

short walk from the famed Biltmore Hotel (modeled on the Giralda, the tower of the Seville Cathedral in Spain), and named their church in honor of Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, also known as “the Little Flower.” These days, Coral Gables is majority Cuban-American, the Church of the Little Flower’s pastor, the Reverend Michael W. Davis, tells me, which might also explain why he is so comfortably bilingual. Unlike so many Catholic parishes in the U.S., Davis says, his still boasts packed pews and “reflects a vibrant community.” He adds playfully that the church’s lovely setting makes it a “wedding factory.”

On a more serious note, Davis explains the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA)—the Catholic conversion program. He tells me about it because Little Flower’s most famous parishioner is a convert: Jeb Bush, the former governor of Florida who’s already touted as the Republican front-runner in the upcoming presidential race, attends Mass frequently with his wife, Columba, and their daughter, Noelle. “[He’ll be] gone all week, and yet he regularly makes the liturgy,” Davis says.

Jeb, of course, hails from one of America’s great preppy families, one more strongly associated with J. Press suits and Kennebunkport tennis than a La Santa Misa (a Mass conducted in Spanish). The Bushes are famously of the Episcopal wing of Protestantism, whose origins trace back, in part, to Henry VIII’s peevish break with Rome. Jeb, which is an acronym for John Ellis Bush, joked in 2013, “[I’m] no longer a WASP; I guess I’m whatever a W.A.S.C. would be”

As a young man, Jeb showed no interest in Catholicism, the Vatican or much of anything except, perhaps, baseball and weed. He attended Phillips Academy Andover, like his brother George W., the 43rd U.S. president, and played baseball there, like his father, the 41st. While at Andover, he took a semester abroad, building houses for the poor in Leon, Mexico, where he was quickly and deeply

smitten with Columba Garnica de Gallo, a Mexican high school student also visiting Leon.

They married when she was 20 and he was 21; in addition to exchanging vows, they exchanged languages: He became fluent in Spanish, and she learned English. It took the rest of the Bush clan some time to get used to having a Catholic in-law, and this being the mid-'70s—a time of coups and juntas across Latin America—it probably caused a few ripples for Columba's family that her new father-in-law was head of the CIA.

Jeb and Columba lived in Caracas for three years, then moved to Miami in 1980, where he carved out a living in real estate, investments and finally politics. The couple attended Mass together, and their children were baptized and given confirmations, but Jeb didn't convert. This wasn't owing to any great desire to retain his ties to the Episcopal Church, friends say. He just didn't feel moved to take on the course of studying and then going through the rites to become a full-fledged Catholic.

That changed in 1995. He took RCIA, the gateway to conversion, at the Church of the Epiphany in Miami, when he was 43. Jeb has said he was motivated "by the faith of my wife. I didn't want to raise our children in a mixed marriage," although that explanation is a little puzzling since Jeb's children were 20, 19 and 13 at the time. He has also acknowledged that there were strains in his marriage back then, many of them related to his 1994 campaign for governor. It was Jeb's first run for office, and it weighed heavily on Columba, who has never cottoned to the role of being a hand-waving, ribbon-cutting, speech-giving candidate's wife.

"You're away from home. There's stress," says one person close to Jeb, explaining the clouds over the marriage then. What's more, Jeb lost that race. Sure, the Bush men had seen defeat over the decades, but Jeb's loss was particularly disheartening for him in a year when so many

Republicans were swept into office nationwide, and when his brother George got elected governor of Texas despite starting out as a big underdog. Like so many people—regardless of whether they're pols—Jeb turned to religion in hard times.

That emotional trough may have been the catalyst for his conversion, but Jeb soon became an enthusiastic Catholic who loved the ritual and the sacraments. He even started carrying a rosary in his pocket—a habit that continues to this day—but he retained his father's reluctance to talk about his faith. "He's not a cufflinks Catholic," says Jim Towey, president of Ave Maria University, near Naples, Florida, and a longtime friend of Jeb's. By that, he means Bush isn't showy about it. "Faith isn't something he talks a lot about," says Towey, who ran the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in the George W. Bush White House.

A former lawyer, Towey dedicated his life to Christ after a mission to Calcutta to work with Mother Teresa, and he became her counsel in America. "Like a lot of people who convert, [Jeb] has a zeal about it and a joy," he says. He recalls taking Jeb and Columba to Tijuana to meet with priests who had worked with Mother Teresa. The visitors were greeted with a song at the bus stop, a welcome that stirred something in Bush. "You could see his joy. He was moved to tears," Towey says.

Jeb's road to Catholicism is a telling example of the noble and knotty, maddening and comforting, always contradictory and confusing ways faith and politics intersect in America. We like to say we are independent thinkers basing our votes on carefully crafted political beliefs and goals, but we often vote with our tribe. We're a church-going people, but we elect a diverse set of presidents—some who profess to having been saved, like George W. Bush, and some with a decidedly more secular mien, like Barack Obama. This year's growing gaggle of presidential aspirants

is an intriguing snarl of inconsistencies when it comes to faith—much like the rest of America.



U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz stands on stage while speaking to a crowd gathered at Liberty University to announce his presidential candidacy March 23, 2015 in Lynchburg, Va. Cruz was born to lapsed Catholics, but his father, Rafael, a Cuban exile, became born again when Ted was a toddler. Credit: Mark Wilson/Getty

So while the media obsesses about Hillary Clinton's emails or Ted Cruz's pugilism or Chris Christie's girth, one the biggest stories of the 2016 campaign will be how faith has changed the candidates themselves—and how it may decide which of the dozen or so likely candidates will be sworn in as our next president on January 20, 2017.

Consider for a moment the messy, mixed messages of that Inauguration Day, a pageant that's so peculiar and so right for a republic that says it loves God but bans organized prayer from our schools. It's a ceremony that's secular, yet shrouded with religious references and symbolism. The incoming president lays his hand on the Bible—and so far it's only been a man and it's only been a Bible—and

pledges to God that he will defend a Constitution that forbids a religious test for public office. It is both inspiring and contradictory. And when it comes to God and politics, so are we all.

Evangelists and Chanters

Jeb Bush's conversion to Catholicism was a very personal journey, one that millions of his fellow Americans have made in one church or another. People in the U.S. switch faiths with remarkable frequency. There aren't firm statistics comparing, say, conversion rates in the 19th century with those today, but social scientists believe it's on the rise. And that's notable if only because Americans have always been impulsive shoppers when it comes to their pew of choice. Think of the remarkable rise of that uniquely American creed Mormonism, and of charismatic evangelists like Aimee Semple McPherson and Billy Graham, and of the vast mega-churches.

According to the Pew Research Center's Religion and Public Life Project, more than half of all Americans will leave the church of their youth at some point, which suggests that most churches and temples and mosques are launching pads, not permanent homes.

Many parishioners who flee eventually return to the fold, but the Religion and Public Life Project, in its "Faith in Flux" report, says about 40 percent of those who give up the religion of their birth don't return. And many are joining a flock that's one of the fastest-growing religious groups in America—those who believe in a higher being but don't feel attached to any church. These "Nones" make up almost 20 percent of adults in this country.

Making the picture even more complicated is the question of dabbling in two religions. A relatively small number of Americans identify with more than one faith, e.g., "I'm Muslim and Lutheran." But that doesn't include another burgeoning group that social scientists know is out there but haven't yet measured: Americans who identify

with one religion but who also casually borrow practices from another—say, Buddhist chanting or Hindu meditation.

At times it seems as if we're shopping for churches while pushing a cart at Wal-Mart. But we're pious, too. America has one of the highest church attendance rates among Western countries. Around 40 percent of Americans report attending a service in the past week. That number is close to 15 percent in the U.K. And with apologies to that high priest of atheism, Bill Maher, American voters have no interest in nonbelievers. No atheist has ever made a serious run for president, and only one of the 535 members of Congress lists her religion as "none." Kyrsten Sinema, Democrat of Arizona. And while very few of us would pick our surgeon or plumber based on his or her faith, we expect our politicians to be pious. We want to know they pray, even though we don't seem to care all that much about how or where they pray.



Mike Huckabee greets voters at the Methodist Episcopalian Church polling station January 8, 2008 in Dover, N.H. The former Arkansas governor and minister has never strayed from his Baptist roots. Credit: Darren

McColleston/Getty

Harry Loved His Bourbon

But how much faith is enough? In presidential candidates, Americans are all over the map. Harry Truman was a drinking, gambling Baptist who didn't talk a lot about his faith. Jimmy Carter drank rarely, never gambled and was a loquacious Baptist eager to share being born again. George W. Bush, an Episcopalian turned Methodist, has told journalists, and recounted in his memoir, how he stopped drinking. "I believe God helped open my eyes which were closing because of booze," he wrote in *Decision Points*. He was followed in the White House by Barack Obama, who talks about his faith but in a less emotional, more intellectual way.

We don't seem quite as bigoted as we once were when it comes to judging a candidate's religion. Mitt Romney's Mormonism didn't stop him from being the Republican nominee against Obama last time around. Joe Lieberman, who is Jewish, didn't seem to be a drag on Al Gore's ticket, since they won the majority of votes in the 2000 presidential election. Conservative Catholic Rick Santorum polled best in the South in 2012, while John Kennedy in 1960 had to solemnly swear to Dixiecrats that he wouldn't be taking orders from the Vatican.

But tribalism still rules at the ballot box. Among Mormons, 80 percent lean Republican, according to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. Jews lean 65 percent Democratic. Atheists and agnostics are 71 percent Democratic. Black Protestants lean 88 percent Democratic. White Evangelicals are 70 percent Republican. And while it's true that Catholicism is big enough to include Nancy Pelosi and John Boehner, Bill O'Reilly and Stephen Colbert, where we worship is often an excellent predictor of how we'll vote.



Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks to the congregation at Northminster Presbyterian Church in Columbia, S.C., on January 13, 2008. Clinton has always been a devout Methodist. Credit: Joshua Lott/The New York Times/Redux

Aqua Buddha or Purifying Fire?

This season's crop of presidential candidates reflects this country's many contradictions in faith. A minority of them have stuck with their first church. Hillary Clinton has always been a devout Methodist—her only conversion was from Goldwater Girl to '60s liberal under the tutelage of her suburban Chicago pastor, Don Jones, who took his youth group to hear Martin Luther King Jr. speak. Mike Huckabee, the former Arkansas governor and minister, has never strayed from his Baptist roots—his latest book is called *God, Guns, Grits and Gravy*. Santorum has always been Catholic; he tells *Newsweek* his faith was invigorated while he was in the Senate, owing to factors like his parish priest in Northern Virginia, his experiences of fellowship in the Bible Study Group in the Senate and his wife's deep faith.

Ben Carson, the renowned neurosurgeon, hews closely to Seventh-day Adventist teachings, which include observing the Sabbath on Saturday and a literal belief in creationism.

(He allows that Earth may have been formed over six “periods,” but insists that however long it took, it was God and not a Darwinian struggle that made us who we are.) Carson says his faith strengthened when he had an epiphany as a teenager that took him off a path he believed was headed to prison and onto one that made him the pride of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine. (He’s famous for pioneering an operation to separate twins joined at the back of the head.)

“I had a hair-trigger temper,” he tells Newsweek. “But doubt has crept out of my life over the years. I’ve seen too many miraculous things.” Carson’s presidential aspirations got a boost when he used the National Prayer Breakfast earlier this year to chide Obamacare—while standing just a few feet from the president.

But the rest of the Republican candidates are, like Jeb Bush, switchers—just like so many of the voters they are hoping to woo. Some of those shifts have been modest: Rand Paul was raised Episcopalian and is now a Presbyterian. The libertarian-leaning Republican may be best known for a very different and much less serious liturgy: In his 2010 Senate bid, Paul had to explain a college hazing ritual he took part in at Baylor University, one that forced pledges of the NoZe brotherhood to pray to a faux God, Aqua Buddha.

Other 2016 aspirants have made more dramatic moves, like Jeb’s conversion to Catholicism. Cruz was born to lapsed Catholics, but his father, Rafael, a Cuban exile, became born again when Ted was a toddler. “I’m Cuban, Irish and Italian, and yet somehow I ended up Southern Baptist,” says Cruz, who attended Baptist schools while growing up. His father is now a preacher with the Purifying Fire International ministry, founded by religious broadcasters Benny and Suzanne Hinn, and Rafael preaches more than the Gospel. (The elder Cruz has said Obama is trying to use the U.N. to take “our God, and our gun.”)

Marco Rubio's story is just as interesting. The son of Cuban refugees, the Florida senator was born Catholic, but when his family moved West it converted to Mormonism and Rubio was baptized in the Church of Latter-day Saints. As a teenager, he came back to the Catholic fold, and he is still a Roman Catholic. These days, Rubio attends Mass, but since his wife was raised Baptist, he also spends part of Sunday at an independent Christian church near Miami. Some might say that second scoop of church diminishes Rubio's Catholicism, but it is the kind of religious fusion, for lack of a better word, so many Americans embrace.

Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker's father is a retired Baptist preacher, and if he makes it to the White House, he would be the first preacher's kid to take residence there since Woodrow Wilson. (The same goes for Cruz.) Like many Americans, Walker now attends an evangelical nondenominational church.

John Kasich, the Republican governor of Ohio, who seems increasingly likely to join the presidential fray, was born a Catholic but became an Anglican after his parents perished in a car accident. Today, he speaks openly about his faith and how it affects his governing, even citing the Gospels to defend his decision—rare among Republican governors—to accept Obamacare funds to expand Medicaid. When you meet St. Peter at Heaven's Gate, Kasich told an Ohio legislator, "he's probably not gonna ask you much about what you did about keeping government small, but he's going to ask you what you did for the poor."

Exorcisms and Rhodes Scholars

The boy sat in the closet with the door closed, worried that his parents would find him and be saddened and angered by what he was reading. He was awed, in the truest sense of the word, by the printed words in front of him. He'd been a great student, the pride of his mother and father, who had emigrated to Baton Rouge from Punjab just a few months before he was born. But this was a traditional Indian home,

and the teenage Piyush, enraptured by the New Testament, feared his parents' disappointment at seeing him swept away by the words of Jesus.

Today, that boy is no longer Hindu, and he's no longer known as Piyush. He's called Bobby Jindal, the governor of Louisiana, a proud Roman Catholic. (Born in 1971, he took his nickname from the youngest son on *The Brady Bunch*.) And, yes, he says, his parents are OK with it now. "I used to think that I had found God, but I believe it is more accurate to say that he found me," Jindal told *Newsweek*. He had flirtations with Protestant churches of various kinds as he grew up in the '80s and '90s, but when he attended Brown University he found a Catholic church and settled in.



Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, a proud Roman Catholic, sits with his daughter Selia Jindal during the Inaugural Prayer Service in honor of Gov. Jindal in Baton Rouge, La., January 8, 2012. Credit: Kerry Maloney/AP

At Brown, Jindal even took part in what has been widely described as an exorcism, although the Rhodes Scholar avoids that label. Either way, this makes him the only candidate who has acknowledged participating in anything like that. Jindal wrote about it in a 1995 article, "Physical

Dimensions of Spiritual Warfare,” for the New Oxford Review. The incident involved a fellow student, “Susan,” who had been facing medical problems and seemed to have a seizure, but not in a Hollywood, head-spinning way. Nevertheless, Jindal and friends who were holding a prayer meeting to help Susan sensed they were witnessing a spiritual crisis, and intervened. He wrote:

II

The crucifix had a calming effect on Susan, and her sister was soon brave enough to bring a Bible to her face. At first, Susan responded to biblical passages with curses and profanities. Mixed in with her vile attacks were short and desperate pleas for help.

That Jindal needn’t hide his participation in “spiritual warfare”—or that Huckabee is running as a preacher as much as an ex-governor—shows that we’re a long way from what might be called the Kennedy conundrum. In 1960, JFK was only the second Catholic presidential nominee of a major party. (The other, New York Governor Al Smith, lost to the Republican candidate, Herbert Hoover, in 1928.) JFK made the argument that personal faith had nothing to do with governing not just for his own purposes—to woo Protestant voters suspicious of his Catholicism—but for all politicians.

He said, “I believe in a president whose religious views are his own private affair.” In other words, God is great at home but not at the office.

That personal and voluntary separation of church and state seems to be an antiquated notion. The dilemma for today’s candidates is deciding how much religion is too much, and we clearly haven’t hit the limit yet. Jeb Bush speaks for most candidates when he says, “As it relates to making decisions as a public leader, one’s faith should guide you.” And if you’re Mormon or have performed an exorcism-ish rite or attend two churches? Most voters seem to be fine with that.

Looking back at past presidents, there is no pattern, no precedence, when it comes to God and governing. Many of the great presidents seemed to follow what the MBA types call Best Practices. Thomas Jefferson attended church and believed in a supreme being, but most historians tag him a deist who believed in God but perhaps not the divinity of Christ. Whatever his inclination or ambivalence, Jefferson is the man America can thank for its freedom of religion.

Abraham Lincoln evoked God repeatedly as he sought to preserve the Union and, later, to end slavery. But he never joined a church—although he rented a pew when he was president. He was accused in his 1846 campaign for the House of Representatives of being “a scoffer of Christianity.” It was a charge Lincoln denied, while acknowledging, “That I am not a member of any Christian church is true.” Yet signs of his faith abounded. When freed slaves presented him with a Bible, he declared, “In regard to this great book, I have but to say, it is the best gift God has given to man.”

Ronald Reagan was born into the Disciples of Christ denomination and was famous for his lack of church attendance as president. But he believed in God, and believed that God believed in America. His frequent likening of America to the shining city on the hill—a phrase from

Jesus's Sermon on the Mount—has become a holy cliché in American politics.

Jefferson, Lincoln and Reagan showed that there are many roads to political heaven, and that it's less important how you read the Bible than how well you use the pulpit.



Tanya Bindra for Newsweek

HOW A BLOODY BRAWL SPARKED FEARS OF A NEW EBOLA OUTBREAK IN LIBERIA

**WHAT BEGAN AS A FIGHT OVER A MANGO QUICKLY
MORPHED INTO A MASSIVE, EBOLA-RELATED PUBLIC
HEALTH CRISIS.**

On a warm morning in February, as Liberia's deadly Ebola outbreak seemed to be waning, Ralph Norman was returning to his home in Paynesville—a suburb east of

Monrovia—when a welder stopped him on the street and asked for help. A man, he said, was lying in his work shed, bloody and near death.

For days, Norman, a broad-shouldered middle-aged man with a boyish face, had hardly slept. He'd heard that his stepson, a troubled 21-year-old named Emmette Logan, had been in a knife fight. Logan hadn't been home since, and Norman spent days scouring the streets of Red Light, one of Paynesville's most dangerous neighborhoods, going from one drug den to another, searching for him.

Wanting to help the welder, Norman—an unemployed former soldier in the Liberian Army—rushed to the shed. When he opened the door, he saw Logan lying on his back on the sandy floor, in a pool of blood. “He was breathing just like a fish when you take it from the water,” Norman said.

Norman ran from the shed and went door to door, frantically trying to borrow money for a taxi. An hour later, as he was still trying, Norman received a phone call from a friend in the military. “Your son is tango uniform,” he said. He spoke in military jargon, but Norman knew what he meant: Logan was dead.

“They killed him over a golden plum,” Norman later told me, using the Liberian term for a mango.

What had begun as a bloody battle over a piece of fruit would soon throw a city into crisis.



Young men smoke heroin, known as Italian White, at a drug den in Red Light. Credit: Tanya Bindra for Newsweek

Rotting in the Darkness

In shock, Norman watched as the police quickly cordoned off the shed. Two days later, a Red Cross burial team arrived dressed in hazmat suits; a neighbor had called them, concerned that Logan may have had Ebola. The burial team took a swab of his mouth and later determined he indeed had been infected. Yet because it wasn't clear what had ultimately killed him, Ebola or his wounds, the Red Cross allowed the police to take pictures of Logan's corpse, since they would be investigating a possible murder. When they were done, the burial workers placed his body in a white bag, heaved it into the back of a pickup truck and drove to a special cemetery, where in recent months Ebola victims had been buried to prevent the disease from spreading.

Unable to afford a taxi to the cemetery, Norman and his family weren't able to attend Logan's funeral, weren't able to weep as his body was lowered into the ground. Only the gravediggers were there to say goodbye.



The young men who frequent Spoiler's place pose for a photo in Red Light. None tested positive for Ebola. Credit: Tanya Bindra for Newsweek

Back in town, as word spread that Logan had been infected with Ebola, Norman watched as health workers frantically began searching for anyone who had come in contact with him. Their biggest worry was that Logan may have passed the virus to dozens of young men from the surrounding slums—many of them drug addicts and “gronnah boys”—small-time gangsters who tend to distrust authority and thus might be difficult to quarantine. Norman also learned from Logan’s friends that five young men had attacked his stepson, and that the man who allegedly wielded two razor blades was known only as Johnny. Another accomplice went by a nickname, Time Bomb—an apt metaphor for the explosive potential of the case and the disease that’s recently devastated large parts of West Africa.

Over the past year, Ebola has killed more than 10,000 people. Almost half of those have died in Liberia, including 200 health workers. The Liberian government and international donors have been desperately trying to care for the sick while, at the same time, preventing the virus

from spreading. They seemed to have finally won that battle: On March 5, doctors discharged what they said was the last known Ebola patient from a treatment center in Monrovia. But a new case was discovered **on March 21**, not long after the country reopened its borders, sparking renewed fears of contagion.

As Logan's case reveals, such fears are not unfounded. In interviews with Newsweek, Logan's friends and family, as well as health workers, police and local gangsters, recounted his last days. The story of his death and its aftermath shows how difficult it is to contain an epidemic—and solve a murder—in a country where distrust of authority is widespread and the lack of water, toilets and access to basic medical services helps the deadly virus proliferate.



Young men and woman hang out at Spoiler's place in Red Light. Credit:

Tanya Bindra for Newsweek

Scars from the War

Logan was raised in Red Light during Liberia's bloody civil war in the 1990s. An estimated 250,000 people died in the conflict as factions, often divided along ethnic lines, vied for power. Residents named their neighborhood, a

strategically important area during the fighting, after a traffic light—one of the few in the city back then.

More than 12 years have passed since the end of the war, and busy shops and market stalls now populate Red Light's crowded streets. But residents still bear scars from the war, both physical and psychological. Those who didn't fight still grew up hard and lived on the margins; they were not ex-rebels or members of pro-government militias, but they adopted many of their pernicious tactics: robbing and pillaging, fighting for stature and smoking crack and low-grade heroin, called Italian White, to get by. These people had few opportunities to escape Red Light, and many never even made it to high school.

Logan's mother worked odd jobs, cooking and selling bowls of food on the street. His biological father was a construction worker. Neither was around much, and Logan and his two older brothers, Charlie and Trokon, shuffled between the homes of friends and extended family, mostly fending for themselves. By the time he was a teenager, Logan had become a gronnah boy, spending his time jacking cellphones and car batteries to pay for food, clothes and drugs. Like most other petty criminals, Logan had multiple aliases and wore them like masks to make himself seem tough. Among them: Chance Boudreaux, the action hero played by Jean-Claude Van Damme in the 1993 film *Hard Target*. Logan's life, however, bore little resemblance to the glamorized violence of an American B movie. When he wasn't robbing people or getting high, Logan slept on the street, in a jail cell or in that welding shed where he bled to death.

During Logan's teenage years, after his mother had married Norman, his biological father—an addict—tried to help his sons. He sent all three boys to a Bible boot camp where organizers counseled drug-addicted teens, converted them and structured their life around prayers and chores. Logan was baptized, and for a few months, fell in love with

preaching. But Logan—a tall, wiry and aggressive kid—was prone to fighting. Eventually, he and his brothers quit the program and returned to the streets. Charlie was the only one who didn't turn back to drugs.

After he left the camp, Logan began smoking more and more Italian White with his friends. He had to steal to sustain his habit, which left him at risk of being attacked, beaten and murdered. By the time he turned 21, he had a girlfriend and a 4-month-old son, but his lifestyle never changed. “He lived on the street,” says Menkarweh Wonyehn, one of Logan's friends. “He was a criminal.”

Wonyehn would know. Last year, the stocky 24-year-old was sleeping on the porch of his father's bar when Logan and another friend, Samuel Blama, 19, crept into his room and stole his CD player. Wonyehn went to the police, who arrested the two. Due to a lack of evidence and the pettiness of the crime, the authorities let his friends go, and Wonyehn quickly forgave them. He cared about Logan and Blama and hoped they would one day stop using drugs. He dreamed they would get clean and the three of them would start a welding business together, even though none of them had any sort of training.

Wonyehn saw what was good in Logan. In fact, Logan likely contracted Ebola through an act of kindness he showed a stranger. In January, roughly two weeks before he died, friends say Logan was walking through Red Light when he saw two men and a woman walking near a swampy patch near the road. One of the men collapsed, and Logan rushed over, picked him up, carried him to a taxi and sent the three strangers home in the cab across town. Shortly thereafter, doctors later said, the man who collapsed died of Ebola-related complications.

Logan didn't know that. Nor did he realize that he had contracted the disease himself.



Samuel Blama at a hospital in Monrovia, recovering from Ebola. Credit:

Tanya Bindra for Newsweek

Blood Gushes From His Wounds

Several days later, Logan was in Red Light, hanging out in two small tents controlled by a local drug dealer named Spoiler. A large, formidable woman in her late 30s, Spoiler once fought for the rebels. When the police would raid her yard, she sometimes confronted them topless or naked to scare them away.

One of the most popular drug spots in Red Light, Spoiler's den was where young, sinewy men hung out with girls with fake eyelashes. Most were gangsters, hustlers or prostitutes, and almost all of them were addicts. Many named themselves after rap stars—Queen Latifah, Nicki Minaj, Rick Ross and DMX. Outside the tents, potato greens and maize sprouted in a nearby garden. Inside, Spoiler's customers cooked heroin on chewing gum wrappers, then used pipes made from foil to inhale the smoke, their eyes rolling back into their heads the moment they exhaled.

Those who saw the fight between Logan and Johnny say it grew out of the latter's good fortune. Time Bomb had

come into some money, about \$1,000, and had given a few hundred to Johnny. Their unexpected, temporary wealth was a source of envy, particularly for Logan, and when he saw Johnny eating a mango, he began chiding him, calling it “rotten” and teasing him for burning through his cash so quickly. The argument escalated, and before long, Johnny and Logan were trading blows as the rest of the men and women in Spoiler’s yard watched.

Of the two, Logan was the taller and stronger and a far better fighter, so he got the best of Johnny as they scrapped in the soft dirt. After several minutes, Johnny seemed to concede, and the two men went their separate ways. But minutes later, Logan again attacked, this time with a razor blade, slicing the smaller man’s ear. As Johnny clutched his ear in pain, several of his friends, allegedly including Time Bomb, grabbed Logan, disarmed him and held him down. A few onlookers told Johnny to take Logan to the police station, but he refused. Instead, he tried to stab Logan with an old kitchen knife, but the blade was too dull and did not penetrate Logan’s stomach. A friend handed Johnny two razor blades, and he sliced them across Logan’s face. Then he used the razors to slash Logan’s spine.

As blood gushed from Logan’s wounds, his attackers fled. A bystander came to his aid, putting ground-up Christmas leaves, a local remedy, on his wounds. The next day, as the wounds festered, Logan’s friends rushed him to a nearby clinic, where a nurse attended to him. He was badly maimed, and the clinic suggested he go to a hospital, but he couldn’t afford it. One of the gashes on his back was deep, almost to his spinal cord. The nurse told them even a small mistake in sewing him up could have left him paralyzed.

Logan never told his family what had happened; perhaps he was too ashamed. His friends, including Blama and Wonyehn, brought him food and water as he lay in the shed. Over the next 48 hours, his condition worsened, and Blama, too, soon became ill with Ebola-like symptoms. His sister

eventually took him to the clinic, leaving Logan alone in the shed.

Several days later, as word of Logan's injuries spread, Time Bomb sent money to get Logan a ride to the clinic that had first treated his wounds. Logan returned, and they re-bandaged his wounds, then took him to a hospital, where health care workers stitched him up and sent him home. They never screened him for Ebola.

The next day, February 2, a week after the attack, Logan died in the shed.



Blama gets a haircut after being released from the hospital. Credit: Tanya

Bindra for Newsweek

Hunting for the Virus

The news of Logan's death and the postmortem discovery of Ebola triggered alarm bells for Dr. Mosoka Fallah, a 44-year-old epidemiologist and immunologist who, over the past year, has been chasing the Ebola virus across Monrovia.

He and his colleagues were tracking an outbreak in St. Paul's Bridge, near Monrovia, where the disease had spread

while many had refused to self-quarantine. (The infected man Logan had helped in Red Light, Fallah believes, came from St. Paul's.) And now the doctors feared the virus would soon spread quickly among the addicts in Spoiler's tents. "Where there has been an increase and sustained cases it has always been poor communities with low social and economic security, overpopulation and poor sanitation," Fallah says. "Early on, [the poor] decided that that was their fate, to be down, not to fight back, and...in poor communities they only trust themselves."



A friend of Logan's holds up a photo of the troubled 21-year-old. Credit:

Clair MacDougall for Newsweek

A few days after Logan's death, Fallah and his team traveled to the ghetto to negotiate with Spoiler about a voluntary quarantine. Fallah has worked in rough communities before, but this was his trickiest case. Since Spoiler and her cohorts are part of a drug gang, they deeply distrust the police and the government. There was also the inherent tension between the doctors trying to stop an epidemic from spreading and the police trying to solve a brutal crime. According to a source on the team that manages and monitors Ebola cases, authorities struck a deal with Spoiler: If her people agreed to be quarantined, the police would agree to stop the murder investigation. They

were allegedly willing to let a brutal attack go unpunished if it meant preventing the deaths of hundreds, perhaps thousands.

Fallah declined to speak about the alleged deal, and the police did not respond to multiple requests for comment. But once the dozens of young men who may have had contact with Logan agreed to be quarantined, the investigation stopped. And, almost three weeks later, when the Ebola team finally caught up with Time Bomb and few other suspects, none were arrested. The nurses who cleaned and bandaged Logan's wounds were also quarantined. The hospital worker who stitched him up later died of the virus in a treatment unit. The only person who remained at large was Johnny, the prime suspect in the crime and someone clearly at risk for infection. His mother said she didn't know where he was. His friends suspected he didn't believe the police would honor their part of the deal and he had gone into hiding. Rumors swirled that he had fled to Sierra Leone. But no one really knew if he was dead or alive, or if he had the virus, which was likely.

While Fallah knew finding Johnny was crucial, he had to also make sure the young men in Spoiler's yard stayed in an Ebola treatment center until it was clear they weren't infected. For the next 21 days, these young men lived well under his watch. The doctors paid them \$10 a day, provided them with clothes, fed them chicken shawarma and soda and gave them access to satellite television—luxuries in a country where the average person survives on less than a dollar a day. According to workers in the unit and the men under quarantine, the Ebola treatment unit even gave many of the gronnah boys a low dose of heroin and marijuana to keep them from escaping and spreading the virus. All the while, the Ebola team, fearing a scandal, tried to keep news of this unusual arrangement away from the press.

Three weeks later, the 32 gronnah boys lined up at the exit of the treatment center dressed in clean T-shirts with

logos that read, “Goodbye to Ebola.” They were all healthy. No one, save for Logan, the health care worker who stitched him up and Blama had been infected. (Remarkably, after weeks of treatment, Blama survived and left the hospital, vowing to stay off drugs.) As they filed out of the treatment center and onto a bus, many chanted in unison: “Who let the dogs out? Who! Who!” And as they were zoomed across town on a bus, the men sang church songs as bystanders gawked. When they stepped off the bus in Red Light, Fallah handed each \$50, a bag of rice, some beans and cooking oil.



A man outside a tent at Spoiler's place in Paynesville. Credit: Tanya Bindra for Newsweek

‘That Man Laying Down There’

Roughly two months have passed since Logan’s death, and Liberia’s Ebola epidemic seems to be under control. But Norman is still trying to make sense of what happened to his stepson. He’s glad the virus spread to only a few other people, but Johnny remains at large, unprosecuted and, more important, untested. The authorities no longer seem to be looking for him.

On a recent afternoon, Norman was finally able to visit the cemetery where Logan is buried. Located 45 minutes outside of Monrovia, in an area known as Disco Hill, Logan's grave is a large clay mound marked with a white wooden cross. On the back of the cross, his name and the day he died, February 2, 2015, are written in black marker.

"That man laying down there..." Norman said to himself. His voice trailed off, and he began to weep. As he cried, the wind blew, rustling the trees around the gravesite. Through his tears, Norman stared at the cross. Then he turned away.



The last remaining photo Logan, left, in the yellow t-shirt. Credit: Clair

MacDougall for Newsweek



Carolyn Kaster/AP

BLACK POWER IN WASHINGTON AND THE IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL

**THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS MAY DECIDE
WHETHER OBAMA'S CRITICS NIX A NUCLEAR DEAL
WITH IRAN.**

Jim Clyburn was livid. In February, shortly after learning that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu would deliver a speech to Congress criticizing President Barack Obama's nuclear diplomacy with Iran, the House's assistant minority leader joined a small group

of senior Democrats for a closed-door meeting in the Capitol building with Yuli Edelstein, the speaker of Israel's parliament. The boyish-looking Edelstein, a member of the ruling Likud party, had flown from Jerusalem to tamp down the furor that erupted over Netanyahu's planned address.

Usually, meetings between American lawmakers and Israeli officials on Capitol Hill are chummy. But this one was tense. The Democrats felt it was outrageous for a foreign leader to use Congress as a soapbox to challenge their president, and they were particularly incensed by the way Netanyahu and Republican leaders had arranged the speech behind Obama's back. But Clyburn, a long-standing member of the Congressional Black Caucus, went even further, adding an unmistakable racial overtone to Netanyahu's offense. According to aides, the South Carolina Democrat bluntly told Edelstein he regarded the prime minister's upcoming speech as an "affront to America's first black president."

Since that meeting, the rancor between black Democrats and Netanyahu has intensified. Some 57 Democrats—including most black lawmakers in D.C.—stayed away from the Israeli leader's March 3 speech in protest. Two weeks later came Israel's parliamentary elections, when Netanyahu renounced his support for a staple of U.S. Middle East policy: a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. After his reelection to a fourth term, Netanyahu tried to walk back his remark, but Obama said he took Netanyahu "at his word" and would now reevaluate his approach to the Middle East peace process. The U.S.-Israel relationship suffered yet another body blow on March 24 after a **Wall Street Journal report** quoted unnamed American officials saying that Israel had spied on the Iran negotiations, then leaked cherry-picked details to Congress in a bid to scuttle the talks.

But for black Democrats like Clyburn, it was Netanyahu's coded election-day warning that Israel's Arab citizens were headed to the polls "in droves" to vote him

out of office that pushed them from anger to outrage. Netanyahu later apologized for his remark, but his contrition appeared to have no effect on Clyburn and company. “The Congressional Black Caucus is gone,” a Democratic congressional aide told Newsweek, referring to its support for Israel under Netanyahu.

As negotiators from the U.S., Iran and five major powers continue to work toward a framework nuclear accord, Netanyahu’s loss of black support on Capitol Hill probably means he’s lost his gamble to convince Congress to pass a bill that would block an agreement. “Bibi,” a congressional aide says, using Netanyahu's nickname, “ensured there will be no veto-proof majority in the House.”

The Fight for 40 Votes

There are two such bipartisan measures in the Senate. One, introduced by Republican Mark Kirk of Illinois and Democrat Robert Menendez of New Jersey, would automatically impose additional sanctions on Tehran if no framework accord is reached—a move analysts say is intended to torpedo a deal. In April, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is slated to vote on a second **Iran bill**; this one would require the president to obtain congressional approval for any nuclear agreement with the Islamic Republic.

The White House has vowed to **veto** both. That threat has prompted Republican predictions of veto overrides—a formidable legislative hurdle that requires two-thirds majorities in both chambers. That means 67 votes in the Senate and 287 votes in the House.



Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu reaches to shake hands with House Speaker John Boehner of Ohio after addressing a joint meeting of Congress on Capitol Hill in Washington, March 3, 2015. Credit: J. Scott

Applewhite/AP

It's possible the Senate's 54 Republicans could find 13 Democrats and independents willing to cross the aisle. After all, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the largest pro-Israel lobby, is against the emerging Iran deal. And the group still wields enormous influence with pro-Israel donors, whose contributions often dictate the way lawmakers vote on Israel-related legislation.

But assuming most of the House's 247 Republicans vote to override an Obama veto, they would still need around 40 Democrats to join them. The Congressional Black Caucus, most of whose members don't receive many pro-Israel campaign donations, has 46 lawmakers, the vast majority of whom would fiercely defend Obama's signature foreign policy effort. Joining them: around 100 out of the 188 remaining Democrats who also would likely rally to prevent a veto override. In other words, the Republicans will likely fall short of the necessary votes.

To make matters worse for Netanyahu and his supporters, no House Republican has offered companion legislation to the two Iran-related measures in the Senate. The Senate may pass one or both bills, but without identical legislation clearing the House, there would be no bill for the president to veto. That, of course, could change. But on the Iran nuclear issue, House members have been far more measured than their colleagues in the Senate. And until the House weighs in with a bill, anything the Senate does is the legislative equivalent of one hand clapping.

‘All Sides Have Agreed to Buy the House’

Like Netanyahu, Obama’s Republican critics worry that a nuclear accord will provide Iran with significant sanctions relief without placing enough constraints on its capacity to enrich uranium to weapons-grade levels. Under any agreement, Obama could temporarily waive congressionally mandated sanctions and lift another layer of sanctions imposed by executive order. Any permanent change in congressional sanctions would require new legislation, and Obama doesn’t think that will happen.

Another Republican complaint is that Obama plans to submit any agreement to the U.N. Security Council, which would presumably agree to lift a third set of international sanctions. Such broad relief, these critics contend, will only reinforce Tehran’s inclination to flout the agreement and continue to fund international terrorist groups.

At this point, however, their criticism may be little more than noise to the White House (as they say in the Middle East, the dogs bark and the caravan moves on). Negotiations have kicked into high gear, with all sides reporting progress and arms-control experts sounding optimistic about an accord. “President Obama’s political opponents try to block everything he does,” Joseph Cirincione, president of the Ploughshares Fund, a global security foundation, **told** NPR. “But I think the center of the American security establishment is solidly behind the deal as it’s been outlined.

... It looks like all sides have agreed to buy the house, and we're just negotiating the closing costs.”

All this leaves U.S.-Israel relations at one of its lowest points since the birth of the Jewish state in 1948. At his March 24 news conference, Obama made it clear that the U.S. will continue to cooperate with Israel on security and intelligence, but because of Netanyahu’s election-day disavowal of a two-state solution, the U.S. will reassess America’s relationship with Israel. “What we can't do is pretend that there is a possibility of something that is not there. And we can't continue to premise our public diplomacy based on something [a two-state solution] everybody knows is not going to happen at least in the next several years.... [For] the sake of our own credibility, we have to be able to be honest about that.”

On Capitol Hill, that message seemed to resonate loudest among Obama’s black Democratic allies. There was a time before Netanyahu’s speech when many members of the Congressional Black Caucus, some of whom are steeped in the Old Testament, saw their reflection in Israel’s struggle. But after Netanyahu’s broadsides against Obama’s diplomacy and his remarks about Israeli Arabs, those days appear to be over. As one Democratic aide put it: “It's going to be very difficult to bring them back.”



Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

STALKING JON CORZINE

MEET THE HEDGE FUND MANAGER WHO WILL NOT REST UNTIL THE FORMER GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY IS IN PRISON.

Few of the financial titans who ran firms into the ground over the past decade are as deeply connected on Wall Street and in Washington, D.C., as Jon Corzine, onetime New Jersey governor and U.S. senator and the former CEO of both Goldman Sachs and the now-defunct brokerage house MF Global.

A testament to that may be how easily he bounced back from his grilling in Congress over the 2011 bankruptcy of

MF Global—the eighth-largest bankruptcy in U.S. history—to be welcomed back into society circles. In August, Corzine hosted a “Ready for Hillary” party in the Hamptons with his new wife, psychotherapist Sharon Elghanayan, along with a group of well-heeled co-hosts that included actress Ashley Judd.

Yet James Koutoulas, CEO of \$100 million Chicago hedge fund Typhon Capital Management, is determined to see Corzine get his comeuppance. “I am going to keep fighting until Corzine is in jail,” he says. “The evidence we need to charge him is there. We need to make clear as a society that the next time a sociopath CEO says, ‘Do I go out of business or do I cheat?’ and chooses to cheat, he is going to be thinking about it in an orange jumpsuit in state prison.”

Koutoulas, 34, faces formidable headwinds. Corzine, a former Democratic politician, has powerful friends, including President Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, for whom he has raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in donations, including his own money.

And the former MF Global CEO has made it clear he is not about to give in. While many have forgotten about Corzine’s legal travails, he is awaiting trial in U.S. District Court on civil charges brought by watchdog agency the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC), which accuses him of failing “repeatedly and unlawfully” to prevent more than \$1 billion in customer funds from being misused as MF Global unraveled in the fall of 2011. With no trial date set, though, the civil suit could take years and will not result in jail time.

The Department of Justice (DOJ) and the FBI worked with the CFTC on the investigation but opted not to pursue criminal charges against Corzine for his actions as MF Global went bankrupt.

Criminal convictions are much harder to win than civil ones. “Criminal actions have a higher standard; you have to prove your case beyond a reasonable doubt,” says Ron

Filler, a New York Law School professor who specializes in derivatives, futures and options law. He adds that it looks as if the DOJ “did not think it had enough evidence to do that.” Also, a high-level Washington lawyer, who agreed to speak to Newsweek on background, points out that Corzine hasn’t agreed to settle with the CFTC, which could mean he thinks he has a strong defense. In 2014, he **failed to win a dismissal** of the case the CFTC had brought against him.

This much is established: Tens of thousands of ordinary Americans lost their money as MF Global fought insolvency—and the paper trail indicates the top brass who used customer money illegally were receiving instructions from Corzine.

Perhaps the most astounding fact of the MF Global case is that the wire transfers of customer money for improper reasons is not in question, nor is there any question which executives were calling the shots in the final days.

Corzine joined MF Global as CEO in the spring of 2010, after losing his bid for a second term as New Jersey governor in 2009 and being ousted from Goldman in a palace coup a decade earlier. The CFTC said he had “a plan to transform the firm from a futures broker into a major investment bank.”

“Corzine’s strategy called for making increasingly risky and larger investments of the firm’s money,” the CFTC said. Just over a year into his tenure, MF Global was already in trouble, as the multibillion-dollar bets he made on Spanish, Italian and other European bonds cratered during the eurozone crisis. Losses mounted and ate into MF Global’s cash position. The company began dipping into customer funds to meet its day-to-day shortfalls, but by October 2011, even that couldn’t keep it afloat.

Koutoulas, whose hedge fund, Typhon, was just three years old, found many of his customers caught up in MF Global’s cash crunch because they used the firm’s brokerage services—and MF Global was using their money. The day

MF Global went bankrupt, October 31, 2011, one of his grain and livestock traders in Indianapolis was handling client orders when the screen went black. And \$55 million of the firm's funds was instantly inaccessible—more than two-thirds of Typhon's total assets at the time.

Koutoulas, who trained as a lawyer before going into finance, quickly reached out to other investors in a similar position—everyone from small-time ranchers to hedge funds larger than his own. The result was a powerful grassroots group, the Commodity Customer Coalition, which he co-founded with close friend and fellow trader John Roe, son of Tennessee Republican congressman Dr. Phil Roe. Within months, the group had amassed nearly 10,000 members.

Koutoulas won the opening battle against Corzine: He led a fight in federal bankruptcy court to fully reimburse all 38,000 MF Global customers in 50 states and abroad who lost \$1.6 billion of their investments and life savings—money that, according to reports from people close to MF Global, had “vaporized”—as the firm skidded into bankruptcy.

MF Global clients saw around \$6.7 billion of their funds frozen in the bankruptcy proceedings, as a federal judge attempted to sort out who was owed what. “It was a disaster on a scale never seen in the history of the United States,” says Koutoulas, who flew from Chicago to New York to represent MF Global customers pro bono.

When Koutoulas walked into New York bankruptcy court in November 2011 (“a rich man's club where everyone is old” is how he described it to me), the judge looked surprised by his appearance. Koutoulas was only 30. “I graduated from Northwestern Law, but I had zero courtroom experience,” he says.

"As of last April, we finally recovered every last penny for the farmers, ranchers, commercial hedgers, retirees, even

single mothers who had their investments and life savings raided," Koutoulas says. "Now it's time to finish the job."

As it turns out, the money did not vaporize. Customer funds were used to prop up the firm as it experienced a run on the bank. **According to the CFTC**, "Corzine was warned about the firm's liquidity stresses and he knew that the firm violated its own policy designed to protect customer funds." Even so, MF Global held on to losing trades authorized by Corzine.

Koutoulas says MF Global was routinely using customer funds to cover losses on trades it made on its own account. "That's a clear violation of the Commodity Exchange Act. It's a felony, and it's punishable with up to 10 years in prison. We should be enforcing this law, or it undermines our entire financial system."

Under Title 7 of the **U.S. Code**, the law states that the misuse of customer funds "with criminal intent" or the misrepresentation of material facts—which the CFTC alleges took place in the MF Global scandal—is a "felony punishable by a fine of not more than \$1 million or imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or both, together with the costs of prosecution." While Corzine has denied any wrongdoing—and told the House Agriculture Committee days after the bankruptcy filing, **"I simply do not know where the money is"**—the CFTC contests that. In one of many recorded phone calls obtained by the agency detailing MF Global's panic in the final days, the treasurer of MF Global told its chief financial officer, "We have to tell Jon that enough is enough. We need to take the keys away from him."

However, when Mike Johanns, a former Republican senator from Nebraska, asked MF Global CFO Henri Steenkamp about who made the decision to misuse customer funds, demanding, "I want names—who would authorize and who would have that oversight?" Steenkamp said, "I am not 100 percent sure who the exact person is."

Despite the concerns that were raised, MF Global Assistant Treasurer Edith O'Brien continued to transfer hundreds of millions of dollars of customer money to cover company shortfalls in a major violation of market rules, according to the CFTC, telling a fellow staffer it was "per JC's direct instructions," meaning Jon Corzine. O'Brien is also facing **civil charges** from the CFTC that she aided and abetted the misuse of customer funds.

In one of dozens of exchanges cited by the CFTC in its complaint, Corzine told an employee MF Global would do whatever was necessary to not move cash out of a crucial revolving credit facility, even if that meant "going negative" by taking funds from customer accounts. Lawyers for both Corzine and O'Brien declined to comment to Newsweek, as litigation is ongoing.

Now that customers have their money back and MF Global has settled all charges against it, Koutoulas says his next goal is to nail Corzine. "I work 80-hour weeks with heavy travel, but I spend every spare moment I can find working on a simple goal: to put Corzine's ass in prison." Koutoulas is speaking with state attorneys general to convince them to bring a criminal case. "We've got 50 states in this country, and customers were robbed from every single one of them. Any one of these AGs can bring a case. And we will win and we will get a conviction."

Among the AGs he has contacted are New York's Eric Schneiderman, a Democrat, who has burnished his credentials sticking up for the little guy and cracking down on Wall Street. But he didn't bite. The lawyers who spoke with Newsweek said it isn't surprising that state AGs won't pursue a case the DOJ has discarded. "It is entirely possible the DOJ couldn't prove Corzine intentionally gave instructions that resulted in a fraud," Filler says. Schneiderman's office did not return calls from Newsweek for comment.

While Corzine isn't the only financial executive to avoid criminal prosecution in the wake of the financial crisis, critics—many, but not all, of them Republican—have linked his ties to the Democratic Party to the DOJ's failure to prosecute. In May 2012, former U.S. representative Michael Grimm (a Republican from New York who stepped down in January after pleading guilty to a single felony charge of federal tax fraud) wrote a letter to Attorney General Eric Holder signed by 64 other House colleagues requesting the appointment of a special counsel to take over the DOJ's investigation.

“Clearly, it would not strain the credulity for the American people to perceive a conflict of interest when an individual raises such large sums of money for the president's re-election campaign and who is at the same time possibly under investigation by an agency or agencies controlled by the administration for possible criminal wrongdoing,” the letter said.

The DOJ did not appoint a special counsel, says Koutoulas, who adds that the DOJ interrogations of MF Global executives, including Corzine, remain sealed. Both the DOJ and the White House declined to comment on the investigation to Newsweek.

Even if Koutoulas fails to convince any state AGs to take the case, the civil complaint could lead to further actions, says New York Law School's Filler. “If [Corzine] fights this civil case and loses, it could lead to potential criminal prosecution.”



Tane Williams

STREAMING KILLED THE CD STAR

SALES OF CDS ARE DROWNING IN THE FLOOD OF STREAMS.

Not so long ago, part of the ritual of the great American road trip was spending hours burning a CD—or even recording a mixtape—to produce that perfect combination of open-window anthems. These days, not so much. Digital playlists and Internet radio services have taken over.

Last year, for the first time, streaming music revenues in the U.S. surpassed CD sales—\$1.87 billion versus \$1.85

billion, according to the Recording Industry Association of America. That's quite a shift from 2008, when Spotify debuted and CD sales were \$8 billion, although CD sales were already in decline then, down from about \$13 billion in 2000.

Streaming now accounts for 27 percent of U.S. music industry revenues, up from 21 percent in 2013. Total music industry revenues clocked in at just under \$7 billion, down 0.5 percent from 2013. While digital downloads still lead the pack with 37 percent of revenue, that's a shrinking business too: Digital downloads dropped 8.7 percent last year, from \$2.82 billion in 2013 to \$2.58 billion in 2014. If current trends persist, streaming is well on its way to leading music industry revenues altogether—a mere six years after Spotify, the major online subscription service, launched in beta mode.

Paid subscription streaming services, such as Spotify Premium, saw a 26 percent jump in membership in 2014, rising from 6.2 million to 7.7 million subscribers. Membership has nearly quadrupled over a four-year period too, swelling from 1.8 million subscribers in 2011. The jump is driven by both simplicity and price. A Spotify Premium account will cost you 10 bucks a month, less than a single CD.

But what is it costing artists? Spotify has received flak for awarding artists paltry sums in royalty payouts, but the company insisted in a statement that it pays “nearly 70 percent of our revenue back to the music community.” Some artists who have the power to dictate their own terms, such as Taylor Swift, have pulled their music from Spotify in protest at low royalty payments. SoundExchange, a nonprofit organization that distributes royalties from Internet radio such as Pandora (but not Spotify, which licenses content directly), paid artists \$773 million in 2014, which amounts to 41 percent of streaming revenues.

Doomsayers have warned that streaming will kill the music industry, but other people in the business are getting on board. Jay-Z this week debuted his pricey, artist-driven streaming service Tidal, and Apple recently announced it would be launching its as-yet-unnamed streaming service.

There is another bright spot in the 2014 data: Sales of vinyl records shot up 49 percent to \$315 million. It's a pity you can't take vinyl on a road trip.



Getty

RUSSIA LAUNCHES NEXT DEADLY PHASE OF HYBRID WAR ON UKRAINE

**MOSCOW'S SPY AGENCIES HAVE STARTED A
CAMPAIGN OF BOMB ATTACKS TO CREATE PANIC AND
INSTABILITY ACROSS UKRAINE.**

Pushing his baby daughter in a pram in front of him, 37-year-old Dmitriy Komyakov paused as marchers ahead adjusted their positions around a huge Ukrainian flag. It

was a bright day in Kharkiv, Ukraine's second largest city. A good day for the hundreds in attendance to celebrate one year since Euromaidan demonstrators ousted president Viktor Yanukovich.

Just as the march moved off again, an explosion ripped into the crowd. Komyakov was close enough to feel the heat of the blast wave. As bloodied victims slumped to the floor, he searched for his wife and 12-year-old daughter among the panicked crowd. "I could see pieces of metal flying and people starting to fall," he says. "First I checked the baby to see if she was injured, then myself, looked around and that's when my wife and daughter ran to me." Miraculously, the whole family had escaped unscathed. But four people, including two teenage boys, were killed in that blast and another nine seriously wounded.

Ukraine's state security service, the SBU, says Russia has entered into a new phase of its campaign to destabilise Ukraine, with the 22 February attack in Kharkiv just one of a series of bombings orchestrated by Russian spy services, the FSB and the GRU. "It starts with the FSB's security centres 16 and 18, operating out of Skolkovo, Russia," says Vitaliy Naida, head of the SBU department responsible for intercepting online traffic. "These centres are in charge of information warfare. They send out propaganda, false information via social media. Re-captioned images from Syria, war crimes from Serbia – they're used to radicalise and then recruit Ukrainians."

He takes a suspected three-man terror cell from Dnipropetrovsk who are currently on trial as an example and walks Newsweek through the evidence, including photographs and video of weapons with Russian serial numbers and intercepted communications. Passed instructions and weapons via dead-drops, the cell never met their handlers.

"They were recruited by the FSB. Instructions were initially given in private messages via internet and in some

cases V Kontakte [a Russian social network],” Naida says. “When they were detained and arrested, in their houses we found explosives, grenades, means of communications and printed messages – where to set explosives, where they should be placed to create panic.” Naida’s unit monitors roughly 600 “anti-Ukrainian” social network groups with hundreds of thousands of members. So far it has intercepted communications between 29 prolific group administrators and individuals using accounts linked to the Russian security services.

A cursory internet search reveals separatist groups are no longer just Ukraine’s problem. This year Armenia, the Baltic countries, Moldova and Poland have suddenly acquired new “People’s Republic” pages on social media, some overtly pro-Russian, others simply stoking ethnic tensions between majority and minority populations in the same city or country – be they Russians and Latvians, or Poles and Lithuanians.

In the meantime, not a week goes by in Ukraine without some form of terror-related incident – from a hoax bomb threat shutting down Lviv airport in western Ukraine, to a series of blasts targeting pro-Ukrainian political groups in Odessa, southern Ukraine. Infrastructure such as railways and financial institutions are hit, and in cases like Kharkiv, ordinary Ukrainians too.



In Odessa, pro-Russian paraphernalia and ammunition were found when police detained a terror suspect. Credit: SBU

The Kharkiv bombers, a group known as the “Kharkiv Partisans”, say they were aiming to hit soldiers and political figures at the front of the march. In the end a parked truck bore the brunt of the blast, preventing dozens more casualties. Four of the “partisans” were captured immediately after the bombing, en route to destroy a pro-Ukrainian volunteers’ club with a rocket launcher.

In a video of one Partisan’s interrogation given to Newsweek by the SBU, an exhausted-sounding man whose face has been pixelated to obscure his identity ahead of trial, but possibly sporting a black eye, explains the attack. “I set the mine at a special angle to maximise impact for the front corners, where there were, as I know, volunteer battalion members and representatives of nationalist organisations.”

The man tells his interrogator that he met a Russian special forces operative while in Belgorod, Russia, in November, who asked him to video and photograph Ukrainian troop movements. In February, he says he was instructed to collect a MON-100 anti-personnel mine from a dead drop in Kharkiv, which he says he planted

and detonated on the march route in return for \$10,000 – to be collected in Russia. The confession sounds forced and somewhat rehearsed. In a war where both sides have been caught out disseminating outrageous propaganda, it's difficult to trust the SBU.

Yet Russian claims that the bombing campaign is part of a Ukrainian effort to discredit them are outlandish. Given the dire consequences for Ukraine in terms of damage to economy, potential investment and infrastructure, the idea that it is bombing itself hardly seems credible.



Police detained a terror suspect in Odessa Credit: SBU

An alternative theory is that Russia is using “partisans” as an extension of its hybrid war in Ukraine. There is already an overwhelming amount of independently verified photo, video and anecdotal evidence to demonstrate Russian involvement in the conflict in Ukraine, although Russian officials continue to deny aiding the separatists or sponsoring terrorism. “The goal is to destabilise the

situation, to create panic, to damage the economy,” the SBU’s Naida says.

“They target Kiev, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Odessa, and all along the potential land corridor [between Russia and] Crimea – Mariupol, Kherson and Mykolaiv. The separatists need these cities. They know there is no chance for them to survive without the land corridor.”

Whatever the motive behind the attacks, it’s clear they are set to continue. On 25 March a railway line was blown up in Dnipropetrovsk. A 17 March SBU raid which hauled in five terror suspects in Odessa failed to prevent another bombing on 22 March. For families like the Komyakovs, the intensifying terror campaign is a second, crushing blow. They thought they had escaped the war when they fled their home in Stakhanov, a city in Luhansk region, devastated by shelling and now controlled by pro-Russian groups.

Dmitriy Komyakov had banned his 12-year-old daughter from attending any pro-Ukrainian meetings while in Stakhanov, knowing it would be dangerous. In Kharkiv, he thought it would be different. “My eldest daughter is 12, she’s very pro-Ukrainian, as all young people nowadays are,” sighs Komyakov. “She was always interested in these marches and meetings, always asking if she can go. But I never let her. Because in war, anything can happen.”

Komyakov is utterly despondent. His family have already lost their home, and for months they have struggled to make ends meet as they tried to settle into a new life in Kharkiv. Now he is wondering whether to uproot them again. “It’s horrible but I have a feeling . . . and people here say that soon it will be the same in Kharkiv as in the city we came from. That’s a terrifying thought.”



Thierry Gouegnon / REUTERS

MAKING HEALTHIER CHOCOLATE THAT TASTES BETTER, TOO

**A TRADITIONAL GHANAIAN PROCESS PRODUCES
COCOA BEANS WITH MORE ANTIOXIDANT ACTIVITY.**

Long before it winds up in a candy bar or another type of confection, chocolate begins its life as a cocoa bean. These beans, about the size of peanuts, are found within the seed pods of the *Theobroma cacao* plant, which is grown in many tropical regions of the world to produce cocoa.

When the pods ripen, they are cut from the tree and their pulp and seeds are scooped out. They are then fermented, dried and roasted. Finally, they are cracked and de-shelled, leaving chocolate “nibs” which are usually further processed and mixed with sugar and other component to make various confections. Each of these steps is important, coaxing along thousands of chemical reactions that bring out just the right flavor. And because making good chocolate is big business, many of the steps have been studied quite a bit, with producers in search of cocoa perfection.

But there is one possible stage that isn’t usually incorporated into the processing and it can make chocolate healthier. It’s called pod storage, or “pulp preconditioning,” and it’s when farmers set the pods aside for several days or more than a week before fermentation. Pod storage is a traditional practice in Ghana, done to “to buy [farmers] time so they can harvest more” before the fermenting stage, says Emmanuel Afoakwa, a scientist and chocolate expert at the University of Ghana.



An employee of Mast Brothers Chocolate takes chocolate bars out of moulds at the company's factory in Brooklyn, in July 2010. The company is one of the few in the U.S. that imports raw beans, before roasting and processing them into chocolate. Credit: Lucas Jackson / REUTERS

The practice also, it turns out, significantly increases the antioxidant activity of roasted cocoa beans. Antioxidants are substances which inhibit the activity of free radicals in your body, chemicals that can damage cells and DNA. They are found in lots of food sources, including berries, veggies, nuts and, of course, chocolate. Afoakwa's team isn't sure exactly why the traditional process boosts chocolate's antioxidant activity. Their findings, presented March 24 at the annual meeting of American Chemical Society in Denver, show that the pod storage step breaks down some of the more bitter polyphenols—a broad class of plant-based chemicals—converting them to more “chocolaty” flavors upon roasting. In the process, it boosts the activity of antioxidant, through some as-yet-unknown chemical processes, Afoakwa says.

Pulp recondition doesn't only make chocolate better for you, it makes it taste better, too—Afoakwa says the prevalence of the process in Ghana may help explain why the country produces what is considered by many, **including**

the Cadbury company, to be among the world's best cocoa beans.

Pod storage increases the activity of various enzymes that “cause a reduction in the bitterness... of chocolate, as a result of the oxidation of astringent polyphenols,” thus making it taste sweeter, says **Giampiero Sacchetti**, a researcher at Italy's University of Teramo who wasn't involved in the study.



Jonathan Wiggs/The Boston Globe/Getty

WHY MILLENNIALS STILL MOVE TO CITIES

MILLENNIALS ARE BUCKING THE TRADITIONAL PULL OF SUBURBIA AND CLINGING TO THE JOBS AND JOYS OFFERED BY CITIES.

Technology has failed to make the world flat after all.

Every ounce of logic says technology should have whipped geography by now—flattening the world, in Thomas Friedman's *lexicon*, by allowing people to live anywhere and still engage in the global economy. If technology was living up to its promise, more and more

people should be moving out of cities to tele-work from charming small towns and lakeside cottages.

Instead, we're streaming to cities like ants to a dropped Popsicle. For the first time, more people globally now live in cities than outside of them. And this is not driven by retirees moving back to get their party on. The best jobs are increasingly in the most dynamic cities and not anywhere else. And people seem to want to work at such jobs, believe it or not, in person. Technology could let us work remotely, yet we are choosing to fight traffic, pay extravagant housing costs and put up with lots of people we don't like. How come?

It seems that in an innovation-driven economy, more innovation happens when smart people are swirled together with a ton of other smart people. Innovation needs an ecosystem, argues economist Enrico Moretti in [The New Geography of Jobs](#), which details the shift of work to hotbed cities such as San Francisco, New York, Boston and Seattle. "A growing body of research suggests that cities are not just a collection of individuals but complex, interrelated environments that foster the generation of new ideas and new ways of doing business," Moretti writes. "By clustering near each other, innovators foster each other's creative spirit and become more successful."

A study by think tank [City Observatory](#) found that since 2007, cities had a 0.5 percent per year growth in jobs, while suburbs suffered a 0.1 percent drop. Millennials—the adults under 30, the biggest generation in U.S. history—are leading that population shift. A U.S. [Census study](#) shows that millennials are not heading for the suburbs the way past generations did.

The trend is palpable in Northern California. Silicon Valley, which is really a vast, sprawling suburb, reigned as technology's hot spot for decades. Now the region's office-park campuses are starting to seem as tired as old Sears-anchored shopping malls, while the new superstar

tech companies move into urban clusters in downtown San Francisco.

The crazy thing is that technology seems to make centralized city offices less necessary now than ever. Just 20 years ago, at the birth of the web, remote work was barely possible. If you owned a PC, you still had to bleep and buzz through a modem just to get some crappy version of email. Today, you can get your entire work experience delivered to a phone in your pocket. I recently met with **Citrix** CEO Mark Templeton, who showed me his company's latest offering, which he dubs the "software-defined workplace." Technology can now be the workplace. A physical office could just be an adjunct to a company that otherwise lives in cyberspace.

Technology could also let us live remotely better than ever. We can see our cloud friends on Facebook, shop at online stores, stream movies, attend Harvard classes online. If you want to start a company in Tuscaloosa or Saskatoon, you don't need to kowtow in person to those Sand Hill Road VCs with their Teslas and Apple Watches. Just go on Kickstarter and get funded, no matter where you are.

So basically, the only reason to clump together in cities is, well, the people. As Moretti explains, in our old manufacturing-driven economy, we moved where the factories were, which often was near necessary resources (furniture factories near forests; steel plants near coal mines, and so on). In an innovation economy, we move to what are essentially idea factories: cities full of people.

Moretti's findings dovetail with Steven Johnson's observations in his book **Where Good Ideas Come From**. Breakthrough ideas come from connections between people and their ideas, and more connections create exponentially more ideas. That leads to cities. Quoting historical studies, Johnson writes, "A city that was 10 times larger than its neighbor wasn't 10 times more innovative; it was 17 times

more innovative. A metropolis fifty times bigger than a town was 150 times more innovative.”

This helps explain why Yahoo CEO Marissa Mayer famously ordered her tele-working employees **back to the office**. It’s why Hillary Clinton, onstage at last year’s Dreamforce conference, said she doesn’t just Skype with world leaders. “Technology has put an even higher premium on face-to-face,” she said. Recent management trends—in particular, Agile development—thrive on intense, collaborative, in-person group work.

For all these reasons, Moretti argues that the migration to high-innovation cities has staying power. As long as innovation is the surest path to wealth and success, smart people will gravitate to whatever is the most effective way to innovate. Right now, that means going to cities.

A couple of things could change that in another decade or so. One is the huge demographic pull of the millennials. The generation has largely put off marriage and kids, so they are largely single...and on Tinder. So of course they want to be in cities. Who’d want to live in rural Iowa, swipe on Tinder and find out the nearest eligible female is a dairy cow? Only when that huge generation breaks down and finally starts to have families will suburbs start to look appealing.

And maybe by then technology will be good enough to let people move out of cities yet maintain the contact that’s so important to innovation. The software-defined workplace is only going to get better. **Virtual reality** glasses, now the bailiwick of the rich and dorky, will go mainstream and allow you to sit in a home office yet feel as if you’re in a conference room with a half-dozen colleagues.

That combination of family and technology might finally finish the job of world-flattening. Millennials could then drain out of cities like water from a punctured bucket,

heading off to do their virtual innovating from greener surroundings.

And that will be just fine for boomers like me, who are just waiting for them to leave so we can move back in.



Bill Ingalls/NASA

A YEAR IN SPACE: NASA'S LATEST EFFORTS TO READY HUMANS FOR MARS

**SCOTT KELLY'S TIME ON THE ISS WILL PREPARE US FOR
OUR DEEPEST SPACE EXPLORATIONS YET.**

Flat, broad and remote, the semi-arid steppes of Kazakhstan are home to the world's oldest space launch facility, the Baikonur Cosmodrome. The location initially served as a missile test site for the former Soviet Union and

was chosen for its emptiness. The first human to travel into space, Yuri Gagarin, rocketed into orbit from this facility in 1961. Since then, Baikonur has grown into a bustling complex of launch and ground control facilities and a town populated by those who run them.

But the desert steppes east of the Aral Sea are still barren and otherworldly. In fact, in the right light, if you look in a certain direction, the Cosmodrome's surroundings look a lot like the dream destination of many rocket scientists, cosmonauts and explorers: Mars. And on Friday, March 28, a Soyuz spacecraft launched from the Cosmodrome, carrying U.S. astronaut Scott Kelly and Russian cosmonaut Mikhail Kornienko off on a mission in which one of the primary goals is to see how the human body would hold up on a trip to the Red Planet.

The two space travelers journeyed six times around the earth (that took them about six hours), then docked at the International Space Station about 200 miles into low-Earth orbit.

Two days later, NASA Administrator Charles Bolden and President Obama's science advisor, John Holdren, welcomed Kelly to the International Space Station.

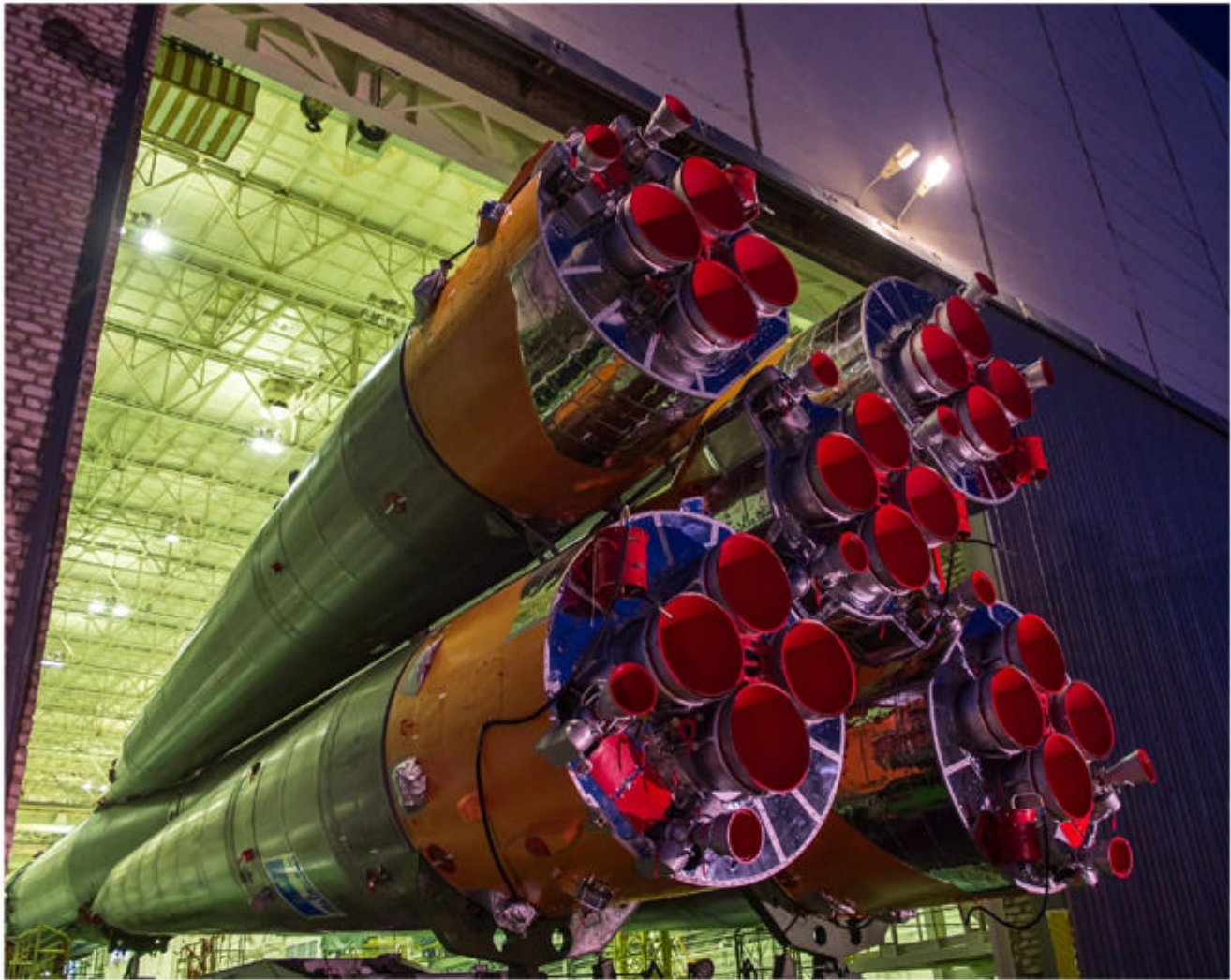
That's where they will spend the next year: within the orbiting lab's 13,696 cubic feet, roughly the size of a conventional six-bedroom house. It's called the one-year mission — though thanks to strict rocket launch schedules, the sojourn will end up 23 days shy of an Earth-year.

The mission is the latest in a series of Mars-centric NASA projects. On March 11, the agency tested a booster rocket that will help propel its Space Launch System rocket and an Orion spacecraft to deep space destinations, including Mars. An Orion made a 4.5-hour test flight 3,600 miles into space in December 2014; data from that test will be used to improve the spacecraft's design. Engineers also are testing new spacesuit designs and next-generation drag devices

that will be needed to safely land the heavier craft that will travel to other planets. But perhaps the most important thing NASA is working on when it comes to the eventual mission to Mars is preparing the astronauts.

Kelly and Kornienko make good test subjects. Kelly will be adding to 180 days previously spent aloft since 1999 on space shuttles and the ISS, while Kornienko logged 176 days on two previous ISS expeditions. They won't be the first to spend roughly a year off the Earth, either. Four Russian cosmonauts did so between 1987 and 1995, with Valery Polyakov holding the record at 14 months on the Mir space station in 1994 and 1995.

But this one-year mission is less about records and more about science. Way back in the 1990s (bioscience moves fast), we had a relatively limited understanding of what long periods of time in space did to the human body and mind. So, about three years ago, managers at Roscosmos, the Russian federal space agency, suggested a one-year mission, with a goal of moving us closer to sending humans to Mars. NASA quickly signed on.



The Soyuz TMA-16M spacecraft is rolled out by train to the launch pad at the Baikonur Cosmodrome, Kazakhstan, Wednesday, March 25, 2015.

Credit: NASA/Bill Ingalls

This project has been a long time coming. In fact, NASA's Human Research Program at the Johnson Space Center in Houston has, for years, been tasked with solving Mars-type mission problems, says John B. Charles, the program's associate manager for international science. It uses the ISS to conduct research and develop technologies that will allow humans to travel longer and farther in space, covering everything from providing appetizing and nutritious food to protecting astronauts from increased radiation exposure and developing ways they can remain physically fit.

A mission to Mars would take at least 30 months, much more time than humans have spent in space and well beyond the typical six-month stints on ISS. Research on the space station has taught scientists much about what happens to humans after those six months in space, documenting

bone and muscle loss, damage to the immune system and thickening of the arteries, to name a few. But whether those and other effects continue through the next six months and beyond, and at what pace, remain a mystery.

The Human Research Program dug into its data and chose 17 investigations it had done during space flights for Kelly to reprobe on his year-long trip. The goal, of course, is to compare the impacts of the shorter trips on the human body to the effects of a long flight. It helps that Kelly has been up in the ISS before: “We picked several experiments that Kelly performed on his previous six-month mission to make that comparison very clear,” Charles says.

Some of the experiments address issues scientists know will pose problems on long-term missions, such as decline in fine motor skills and vision. For example, nearly a third of American astronauts have experienced impaired vision while in space. Researchers suspect that this happens because in the absence of Earth’s gravity, fluids in the body shift around, with more ending up in the head, where it changes the shape of the eyeball. Two investigations are examining whether that is what happens and if so, exactly how.

To test and track fine motor skills, Kelly and Kornienko will perform a set of specific tasks on a touchscreen (including dragging, pinching and rotating) at regular intervals, with other subjects perform the same tasks on Earth. Fine motor skills will be critical for landing on Mars or other planets, especially early on, before there’s ground support. They and other crewmembers also are keeping journals researchers will review periodically for insight into how each responds to the isolation and confinement of the space station. Though it might sound unscientific, studying the journals of astronauts spurred changes to the ISS, such as addition of a seven-window cupola (which has room for two crew members to work at the same time, spectacular views) and private sleep chambers (which means no more sleeping in the middle of the office, as it were).



The Soyuz TMA-16M spacecraft is seen after having rolled out by train to the launch pad at the Baikonur Cosmodrome, Kazakhstan, Wednesday, March 25, 2015. Credit: NASA/Bill Ingalls

Then there's the part of the mission that's been getting the most media attention: following Kelly's selection for the one-year mission, NASA scientists realized they had another unique opportunity on their hands given the fact that he has an identical twin, retired astronaut Mark Kelly.

Taking advantage of the fact that Scott and Mark are as alike as any two humans can be, the twins study experiments focus primarily on the effects of spaceflight at the genetic level. While Scott is in space, Mark will serve as a control subject. Of course, one pair of twins hardly qualifies as a statistically significant sample, so these studies won't be able to definitively separate effects of spaceflight from the normal differences that exist between all humans—even identical twins. But, Charles says, the twins study could help identify previously unanticipated potential issues with longer spaceflight so NASA can examine those issues more in-depth before they send any astronauts to Mars.

Kelly is cautiously optimistic about the one-year mission. "I'm hopeful there's not a big cliff out there with regard to our ability to stay and live and work in space for longer

periods of time,” he said in January before departing for a final two months of training in Russia. “I think we’re not going to know until we’ve actually done it. I look forward to coming back and saying the data suggest that a year is no problem.”

Meanwhile, life on the ISS will go on as usual. The first expedition to it docked November 2, 2000, and the orbiting laboratory has been continuously occupied since by a revolving cast of 215 individuals. During Kelly and Kornienko’s stay, 13 other crew members will come and go, remaining anywhere from 10 days to six months and conducting their own experiments. And, in addition to taking part in the one-year investigations, Kelly and Kornienko will be helping with regular ISS maintenance and operation. For example, they’ll be working on the wiring of the space station, and reconfiguring some of its components in order to improve its docking capabilities.

There will probably be more long-term human space trips to follow. The Human Research Program has proposed additional one-year missions, Charles says. (The request is currently under consideration by the ISS partners: NASA and Roscosmos, along with the European, Canadian and Japanese space agencies.) Kelly and Kornienko deflected questions about whether they would sign up for another one-year mission, although neither ruled it out. “Space is a magical place,” Kelly said at the final prelaunch press conference. “It’s the most fun you can have.”

Whether he still feels that way after returning to the Kazakhstan steppes some 340 days from now remains to be seen.



Mark Peterson/Redux

WEAK OVERSIGHT IS HOLDING BACK EDIBLE INSECTS

**INDUSTRY LEADERS SAY THEY CAN'T RAMP UP
THEIR CRICKET POWDER SALES BECAUSE OF VAGUE
REGULATIONS.**

On a rainy night in New York City last December, a man in a leather jacket stood alone in a dark parking garage just across from Penn Station. He held a briefcase tightly and wore a straw fedora that hid his eyes. Inside his case were samples of his specially milled cricket powder, created using

a process developed with funding from the U.S. Department of Agriculture that, if all goes right, could change the food industry.

A Florida native, Dr. Aaron T. Dossey is one of the main suppliers fueling a burgeoning insect boom. That powder, his latest product, was made for Exo, an insect protein bar company. His company, All Things Bugs, has also supplied cricket protein bar company Chapul, as well as Six Foods's cricket chips.

Since the United Nations came out with a **report in 2013** recommending insects as food, entrepreneurs, restaurants and farms have been scrambling to cash in. The report hails the environmental benefits—since insects are cold-blooded, they burn fewer calories and therefore need less food than chickens or cows. Plus, they can eat waste products that are difficult or impossible for mammals to stomach. Since agriculture is responsible for about **a quarter of the greenhouse gas emissions worldwide**, and the crops needed to feed livestock make up a large portion of global agricultures, little bugs have the potential to lead to huge improvements in climate change.

Insects are also highly nutritious and an excellent source of protein. According to Jarrod Goldin, one of the founders of Next Millennium Farms, studies have shown they have an almost perfect ratio of omega-3 to omega-6. That could be huge for public health: An out-of-balance omega-3/6 ratio in the Western diet is thought to be a contributor to health problems ranging from **cardiovascular disease to cancer**. Insects are also high in iron, which is the leading vitamin deficiency worldwide, **according to the World Food Programme**.

And if that's not enough to convince you, Goldin predicts there might be even more excitement over possible prebiotics in insects' exoskeletons. Prebiotics are a type of carbohydrate that helps support gut health by acting as food for the "good bacteria" that live in your gut. Goldin says his

company is running prebiotic tests on his cricket powder right now.

Insects are already a part of the average healthy diet for much of the rest of the world. In Australia, witchetty grubs are dug out of the ground and eaten for their high fat, high protein and almond taste. When the Spanish first encountered merchants selling the eggs of the aquatic axayacatl bug in Aztec markets, they called it “Mexican caviar.” But in Western culture it’s still a novelty (or accident) to ingest insects. And even though people worldwide have been eating bugs for a long time, raising them by the thousands and milling them into a powder is uncharted territory.

Because the Western world has been slow to take to insects, we don’t yet have a full understanding of the allergies and toxins that could be associated with them, nor do we have research on the proper safety practices we would need for a viable edible-insect industry. As a result, U.S. regulatory agencies haven’t taken a strong stance on the safety of bugs, and that, in turn, has stifled industry growth, [according to the U.N.](#) But that could change soon: Researchers are now working with businesses to fill in the knowledge gaps and keep insects safe as the industry explodes.

The GRAS Is Much Greener

Dossey calls himself a “recovering academic.” As a postdoc biochemistry and microbiology researcher, he found his prospects for faculty positions limited. Then one day he got into a discussion over lunch about edible insects with some of his entomology friends and Daniella Martin, host of the insect cooking show [Girl Meets Bug](#). Dossey figured he could compete in the market for insect foods because of his chemical and molecular biology knowledge. Armed with a Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation grant and a \$20 blender, he started his business in a small Florida apartment.

At first he experimented with recipes for protein bars. Then he recognized he'd be competing with the acumen of the elite university business graduates behind Exo and Six Foods, so he shifted strategies: "I thought, Maybe I can just be the ingredient guy."

As Dossey developed his cricket powder, he reached out to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to figure out safety guidelines. He says its answers were vague, and some steps in the process the agency laid out were missing. So he applied for grants from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to initiate his own research into expected shelf life, potential allergens and how much heavy metals will stay in the insects' bodies from their feed.

The good news is that the USDA appears willing to fund this type of research. The director of the department's National Institute of Food and Agriculture, Dr. Sonny Ramaswamy, is a card-carrying entomologist who has been excited by insects' potential for a long time. The unabashed insectophile, who prides himself on his delicious curried cricket dish, is now the presidentially appointed head of an agency that provides funding for research.

Many researchers believe insects could be safer for human consumption than livestock. "Bird flu, swine flu—this transmission of a virus from an animal to humans will not happen when it comes to insects," says Jørgen Eilenberg, a professor at the University of Copenhagen who specializes in insect pathology and helped review the U.N. report. "Many insect viruses are so specialized they only affect one host." He says it's essentially the same with the bacteria and fungi that can infect insects: They do not affect humans.

But there are still some safety concerns. People allergic to shellfish might also suffer when eating insects, because the two are so biologically similar. It's also still unclear what allergens could carry over to insects from their feed. For example, if a grasshopper eats feed containing gluten, will it still be gluten-free?

To start identifying what allergies might be associated with insects, Dossey has teamed up with the University of Nebraska (fun fact: the U of N's sports teams' nickname used to be the Bugeaters) to find out. Dossey says genetic sequencing would be the next step, but that would require more funding. To definitively prove allergic reactions, researchers would need to do even larger and more expensive testing on animals and humans.

Information about allergens and toxins is key to working with larger manufacturers and shipping companies. That's why you might see something like "Manufactured on equipment that processes products containing peanuts" on your Girl Scout cookies box. And because the average U.S. consumer considers insects disgusting, manufacturers are wary about having to disclose the fact that traces of bugs could show up in other foods.

The edible insect industry is still in its infancy, but it's growing fast. Exo raised \$1.2 million at the end of last year on Kickstarter. Next Millenium Farms just bought a bigger facility, where it is producing around 10,000 pounds of crickets a month. All Things Bugs milled around 30,000 pounds of crickets in 2014 and received preliminary news that Dossey could be getting another grant from the USDA to increase efficiency.

Yet the industry needs to wrestle with regulatory tangles before it can really take off. Getting confirmation from the FDA of the Generally Recognized as Safe (GRAS) designation would be a huge step forward. A company doesn't have to submit food products for GRAS in order to sell them, but Dossey says some of the largest manufacturing and shipping companies only work with foods that have it. "GRAS is the holy grail," he notes.

Ramaswamy says the proteins you get from an insect are basically the same as the ones you might get from a chicken or pig. According to the U.N. report, 2 billion people around the world eat insects on a regular basis. Yet

no company has tried to prove to the FDA that insects are a safe food for humans. “The agency has not been notified of any determinations of GRAS status regarding use of insects as food,” an FDA representative told Newsweek.

One reason might be that GRAS confirmation is an expensive undertaking for small startups; Dossey says one consultant quoted him \$250,000 to get his powder researched.

The lack of FDA oversight on the issue filters down to local regulators who enforce their guidelines, and the vagueness has created confusion for restaurants interested in serving insect proteins. Gillian Todd, former manager of New York-based Antojeria la Popular, says her Mexican restaurant got a lot of attention in 2013 for serving bug dishes like the “Grass-Whopper.” She says the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene pressured the restaurant to stop serving insects because its supply wasn’t from an FDA-approved source.

“Our inspector found they had dried crickets in a bag they claimed was from a California supplier,” the department told Newsweek. “But it was unmarked. Bags must be marked with the supplier and the contents, and it must come from an approved source.”

Todd says her restaurant couldn’t find such a source. Antojeria ended up closing shortly afterward. Meanwhile, other New York restaurants serving grasshoppers as a traditional Mexican ingredient became worried that their unapproved supply chains could also get them shut down.

Some companies have benefited from developing good relationships with local regulators. Laura D’Asaro is one of the owners of Six Foods, which makes cricket chips. She says the company was able to get approval of its products from the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. This in turn helped it get on grocery store shelves throughout the state. “Most of the health departments didn’t know what

to think about it,” she says. “They, like everyone else, had thought of them as pests to try and keep out of food.”

The FDA does have some clear regulations for insects as human food. For example, producers have to follow the same best practices that apply to other foods, like proper labeling and keeping the products contaminant-free. They can’t be “wild-crafted”—meaning you can’t go pick grasshoppers out of a field and sell them at a farmers' market. And the insects have to be raised explicitly for human food. But everyone in the industry agrees more work needs to be done.

The biggest hurdle for edible insects in the U.S. and Europe will be the **yuck factor**. Many believe that the best way to get Westerners to overcome their aversion is to start introducing insects into children’s diets early on. “I have two daughters, and their favorite food is plain white pasta with butter,” says Goldin. He’s excited that some companies are now making a pasta with the health and environmental benefits of cricket powder that could satisfy his children’s finicky appetites.

Kids, being highly adaptable creatures, might take to bugs more quickly than adults. Ramaswamy says that when he was a practicing entomologist he loved to work with children because you can use insects to introduce them to abstract concepts like ecology and climate change. “I would go to schools and take insects with me. I’d pop a live caterpillar in my mouth and start chewing on it and eating it. They would go crazy. Of course, the boys would run over and say, ‘Oh, I want to do that.’”



Vic Michael

TAKING A VICTORY LAP WITH RUN THE JEWELS

OF HIP-HOP, STEPHEN HAWKING AND STRIP CLUBS.

When I call Jaime Meline and Mike Render—better known by their monikers El-P and Killer Mike, the brains behind hip-hop dream team Run the Jewels—I am a bit early, and they’re wrapping up another interview. Before I mute our conference line, I hear the pair chortle as Mike drawls: “Run the Jewels is really a comedy group.”

Don’t tell the masses. Upon the release of their free album Run the Jewels II—the second the duo have made

—the Internet exploded with praise. The album topped dozens of year-end lists, with critics and listeners digging its irreverence and El-P's imaginative production work. It was equal parts poignant (Mike raps that he respects “the badge and the gun,” while fearing the death of his children from police brutality) and punchy (this is the same guy who rapped: “Top of the morning / My fist to your face is fucking Folgers”).

They didn't have time to relish in the album's success, though—immediately, they went on an extensive international and national tour circuit, from clubs to major festivals to opening for Jack White at a sold-out Madison Square Garden performance (all that touring explains why their Newsweek interview has been scheduled and rescheduled many times since November). During their coveted downtime, they offered life advice to late-night stoners on Adult Swim, and heart-wrenching tales of love and loss to teenage girls on [Rookie's Ask a Grown Man](#) video series online. In the process, Mike became a favorite media pundit, offering salient perspectives around the tensions surrounding race and politics following the Ferguson conflict. Then they'll turn back around with a smile and bring the house down. And even making music for 20-plus years, they insist they're just ambling through it all like the rest of us, as El-P puts it, just relishing in “eloquently stating confusion.”

Today, the fellas have released the video for the single “Close Your Eyes (And Count to Fuck)” featuring Zack de la Rocha, of Rage Against the Machine fame, through [their website](#). Featuring two people locked in an endless stalemate, the gripping video is intended to “highlight the futility of the violence, not celebrate it,” according to a statement from director AG Rojas. Run the Jewels, though, are something to celebrate.

Where in the world are you guys calling from?

El-P: I'm in Brooklyn.

Killer Mike: And I'm in Atlanta.

El-P: A very rare week at home.

Are you kicking it or preparing for the next big thing?

El-P: He's hunting for barbershops, I'm hunting for peace of mind. We tour all the time, and when we get home, while it's technically your down time, there's so much shit that you have to do to maintain your personal life and real life [laughs]. It's hardly ever downtime.

I saw that you were recently in the studio with Massive Attack?

El-P: It was amazing. Those guys are legends and are super smart and down to Earth and funny and great people. They reached out to us and we were like fuck yeah, man. Let's get together!

Is your collaboration with them something we might see on Run the Jewels III?

El-P: I don't know if it's going to be on their record or we're going to something for our record or both. We had a great time in the studio, and we're going to get together and do more.

How have the songs from RTJ II been resonating with you now that you've taken them on tour and played them in different size rooms?

Killer Mike: I thought that when we went into bigger rooms, we gonna lose some of the energy. On our first few runs out [Run the Jewels I], those shows had a real punk rock energy to them. The audience was in our face, we were in their faces. We were literally together. And I worried—is that connection going to be lost? 'Cause a lot of times, there's a gap or area or space [between us and the audience]; and what I've seen happening is that the crowds have grown, but the intensity is still there. And growing with larger crowds. Which at times, scares the fucking shit out of me. We've had shows where there are four mosh pits going at the same time, and yet our audience still knows how to take

care of each other. But it's just...amazing. I'll say this: All my fears and self-doubt have been dispelled. Run the Jewels has made me feel like anything is possible.

El-P: I mean, we just played Madison Square Garden! So there's no better place to test your material and see if it holds up in a big room. It was fucking unbelievable. On the low, we were really nervous about it...

Killer Mike: We were nervous as fuuuuuck!

El-P: Let's be honest here: this show was sold out before we were even announced to be on the bill. This was a Jack White show. So we didn't know if there was enough of a crossover fan base or whether or not what we were doing would be appealing enough to the people who didn't know us in that situation. But that's pretty much the biggest room that has a roof that you're going to play, you know? About three songs in, I felt that we were playing just a regular club. I felt that energy in the same way. That was very pleasantly surprising to me—that, Wow, this music really can hold up in this environment.

It's funny, because we made [the album] just really humbly. It was never conceived as something that we thought could be played in a stadium. We're kind of like these wise guys dudes who aren't even supposed to be here. I feel someone fucked up, left the key under the mat, we found it and went, oh shit! We can open the door.

Do you ever wake up sometimes and can't believe this is your life?

Killer Mike: Yes! I do. Maybe five times a week, I look in the mirror and think: "Oh, shit. This is not a dream. This is really going down."

El-P: There was a real moment when we first dropped the record [Run the Jewels II]. We had a tour set up already, and there were a lot of rooms that were not filled up. Maybe 50 percent sold. We dropped the record, and a week later everything was sold out. Our careers have not been quick,

we've been doing this for a long time. But that moment was one moment I will always remember. When we first started those shows, and seeing what was happening, me and Mike would just look at each other...

Killer Mike: Yep.

El-P: We would just look at each other, without saying anything, and just burst out laughing nervously. As if saying oh, fuck! What's happening? And that's a thrilling feeling, you don't want to question it too much. We would have been happy doing what we were doing; we liked our careers, and could sustain ourselves.

It's really kind of crazy: You go through a 20-year period where you're happy but kind of in the back of your head, you think, It's never going to get much bigger than this. OK. And then, I swear, the second you let go of that desire or feelings nagging in the back of your head, that's when it happens! Once we gave our record away for free, that's when it started to really happen.

Sounds a lot like dating—when you check out, things start to actually happen.

El-P: Oh hell yeah! No one wants to fuck you when you desperately want to get fucked. That's just a fact.

Killer Mike: He put that so poetically....

El-P: That's something men learn early, like, goddamnit! How come every time I am finally in a relationship that other women want to [be with] me? Because you're relaxed, you're chilling, you're cool. You're not desperate. People can smell it on you. And it's something you cannot fake, either. It's intangible, has to be a real thing. It seems to apply to everything. There's probably some mystical lesson in all of this, but I'm probably too stoned right now to understand it.

Killer Mike: I marriage counsel on my Instagram. First rule of marriage is: You and your wife should do stuff

together, like Mambo [dance] classes and strip clubs. You have to do that.

Hard-core and casual hip-hop fans alike immediately connected with Run the Jewels II. I can't help but think partially it's because the album came out at a time when there is quite a bit of unrest and unease, and people responded to that honesty, that confusion.

Killer Mike: Absolutely.

El-P: Yeah. But Run the Jewels is not engaged in explaining to you how things work. That's not who we are. But we will be honest how we feel about it, that's all. What can I say? I don't want to be lectured about anyone about anything, period. Maybe it's just a personality trait I don't like. Unless you're Stephen Hawking lecturing me about the cosmos, I pretty much don't like you doing that.

Killer Mike: Check this out: Stephen Hawking is to white people what Jesus is to black people. That is amazing to me. He is the new messiah to white people in America. Shout out to Stephen H.

El-P: Not to me, I just think he's cool.

Killer Mike: But I mean, thank God for his intelligence. There are a lot of batshit crazy people talking out here.

On a different note, what's the last thing you listened to that truly electrified you?

Killer Mike: The second beat that Massive Attack played in the studio for us. We're going to put drums under it and it's going to sound like God is coming back.

El-P: Super, big, heavy, synth-heavy. Massive Attack is making some really dope shit.

Killer Mike: I had a religious moment when I imagined the drums El is going to put under it, I believed in all three religions at the same time.

El-P: For me, no bullshit, no nepotism, but the best thing that I've heard lately is the new BOOTS [a collaborator

on Run the Jewels II] record. I've been listening to that, it's beautiful. That's the shit that's been blowing my mind recently.

What was the first album you bought with your own money?

Killer Mike: Rhyme Pays by Ice-T.

El-P: I grew up in a family where my dad had a record collection, and so vinyl was always around us. He would buy me things like the "Monster Mash." That was one of the first records I had. But the first piece of vinyl I ever bought in my life was the Star Wars score. It was gatefold, had a picture of Darth Vader on the front...

Oh, what's up with Meow the Jewels [the remix of Run the Jewels II crowdfunded to be made with all cat sounds]?

El-P: Meow the Jewels is in production! Officially. We're getting all our ducks in a row, and I released a few snippets of me putting it together. But that's one of our main focuses for the next few months, that record. So we're getting all of the a capellas and things. So we're in the process of wrapping our heads around it, I've already started on music. It's definitely coming this year.

How do you even go about wrapping your head around making an album of purely cat sounds?

El-P: It's been a lot of cat action, I've got to be honest with you. Or cat-ion, as we call it. Wrapping your head around the stupidest possible idea ever is not that hard. You just have to get really stoned and dive in with a bunch of cat sounds. That's really all it is.

In that vein, what are each of your spirit animals?

El-P: I always thought that I'd be a squirrel.

Killer Mike: I'd definitely be a tiger. Because you get to chill by yourself. My wife says that I'm a gorilla, but I would like to imagine myself as a tiger.

El-P: I think you're a very elegant, beautiful tiger... I'm not that grand in my imagination. I just like squirrels.

Killer Mike: You do have a nice tail.

El-P: Thank you. I don't know what means, but thank you. But squirrels are cool. Growing up in New York City, I always liked squirrels—they're grimy and they're native New Yorkers.

Killer Mike: You know what they call squirrels in Alabama?

El-P: What?

Killer Mike: Good eating.



Michael Appleton/The New York Times/Redux

YOU'RE 100% WRONG ABOUT MATH SCORES

AMERICAN SCHOOLS DON'T SUCK BECAUSE OF STEM CLASSES; THEY SUCK BECAUSE NOBODY LEARNS HOW TO WRITE.

American high school seniors logging on to university websites to find out which colleges have admitted them will soon confront a challenge they barely know exists: the art and craft of writing coherent papers (and, soon, internship applications, job cover letters and memos) that display not

just good grammar and clean syntax but also structured thought.

The verbal diarrhea that is most prose today afflicts not just graduates of underachieving high schools that are deemphasizing writing in favor of the math and science skills now deemed their top educational priority. Bad writing also besets the best and the brightest, ironically lending a democratic quality to what now may be the greatest academic and professional challenge in this country. “Even among educated people, formal writing is not what it used to be,” says John McWhorter, a linguist at Columbia University.

At Harvard, a frequently used “writing center” pairs tutors with undergraduates, usually freshmen panicked about their lousy prose. Princeton freshmen are required to attend a writing seminar twice a week. Clients of Grammarly, a popular, online grammar-checking program, range from San Diego State University to the web-only Phoenix University.

WGAF? The evidence, while anecdotal, is persuasive: A well-structured memo to your boss or colleague, whether at a Wall Street bank, in Silicon Valley or at your local retail chain, reveals your alpha-dog factor without pissing people off. “People are writing more than ever, but it’s not well done, and those who can do it well have a tremendous advantage,” says Mike Rose, a research professor who focuses on writing at UCLA.

The explosion of email, tweets and texting, with their patois and haiku-style snippets, has eroded what for centuries was a clear distinction between the written and the spoken. Layer in PowerPoint slides, where concepts are pauperized to bullets, and TED Talks, where potentially rigorous ideas can meander like a latte-fueled conversation at Starbucks, and the import of your idea can get lost—if it was ever there at all. “We see a lot of students using language in ways that are patterns of speech, but in writing

you have to be more explicit,” says James Herron, director of the Harvard Writing Project.

That means making your main points clear, early on. Had NASA engineers and managers not buried inside reams of pre-launch reports a critical piece of information about a fatal flaw in the O-rings in the Challenger space shuttle, they likely would have prevented the craft from taking off in 1986, before it exploded and incinerated all seven astronauts on board.

“People are caught up in a focus on STEM”—science, technology, education and math—“but the piece they don’t understand is that all of those fields rely on clear, good writing, and we’re not getting that,” says Elyse Eidman-Aadahl, executive director of the National Writing Project, a nonprofit think tank at the University of California, Berkeley.

So here’s an idea for a fresh meme:
#GoodWritingIsSexy.



Tampa Bay Times/ZUMA

ENSURING YOUR CHILD'S DRIVER'S LICENSE ISN'T A LICENSE TO KILL

**FOR MOST PARENTS, A CAR FOR THEIR CHILDREN
MEANS BOTH FREEDOM AND FEAR. BUT A KID
AND FOUR WHEELS CAN MAKE FOR A DEADLY
COMBINATION.**

One day I'll hand my daughter her first weapon. A massive, 3,700-pound, hulking piece of lacquered steel. A

gas-slurping, road-hogging, hydraulic-steering automobile. After many practice runs she'll sit alone behind the wheel, and I'll sit alone at home, praying for her safe return. "The first 30 to 90 days of independent driving are the deadliest," says Pam Fischer, former director of the New Jersey Division of Highway Traffic Safety and leader of the New Jersey Teen Safe Driving Coalition.

For most parents, a car for their children means both freedom and fear. We can't wait for them to drive themselves to hockey and swim practice. They can't wait to make a clean break, severing that figurative umbilical cord with the turn of a key.

But a kid and four wheels can make for a deadly combination. Motor vehicle crashes are the leading cause of death for teenagers in the United States. In 2013, 2,524 teens died in motor vehicle crashes, according to the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety. Almost two out of three were male. In 2003, the number of deaths was 5,718; and in the 1980s, it was not uncommon to lose over 7,000 kids a year. "We have brought down the number of teen deaths across the country tremendously," says Fischer. "But as a safety advocate, [I say] zero is the only acceptable number."

That downward trend is partly the result of graduated driving licensing laws that states began implementing in the mid-1990s. Driving privileges are granted through a three-tier program: learner's, intermediate and full licensing. Requirements vary widely from state to state—one can get a learner's (or restricted) permit as young as 14 or as old as 16. Six states start at 14. Most states mandate that a learner complete a certain number of supervised driving hours, usually with a parent or guardian. South Dakota and Arkansas do not require supervised hours, while Massachusetts demands 30 to 40 hours of supervised driving, on top of a mandatory 12 hours of behind-the-wheel classes with a licensed professional. Most states impose curfews for intermediate license holders, because studies

have shown that almost half of fatal teen crashes occur at night.

All but three states restrict the number of teen passengers that an intermediate driver can tote along. When two or more teen passengers are in the vehicle, the crash risk is three times as high. New Jersey is the only state where learner's and intermediate licensees must display a reflective decal, a practice Britain and Spain have used for years to help law enforcement identify novice drivers. After the first two years of its decal implementation, New Jersey's teen crash rate went down almost 10 percent.

But no amount of regulation can replace parental involvement. "The parent or guardian has to be the first enforcer," says Fischer. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Minnesota and four counties in Virginia mandate an instructional course for parents. And as more public schools across the country reduce driver's education due to budget cuts, parents are turning to private instruction. Some balk at the cost. "They want to spend the least amount of money and have their kids learn just enough to pass the test," says drag racing star Doug Herbert. "But many courses don't really teach them how to drive." In 2008, Herbert started Putonthebrakes.com a week after his sons, Jon (17) and James (12), died—Jon was driving above the speed limit when his Mazda collided with a Hummer. "After the accident, I needed to do something," he says. "I looked into grief counseling, therapy, but in the end I'm a driver. I decided to use my contacts and experience to keep families from going through this same heartbreak."

Every year his organization enlists professional drivers to train—free of charge—almost 5,000 teens and their parents in cars donated by Kia. Drivingskillsforlife.com, created in 2003, offers a virtual learning academy with 14 video modules and hosts live programs with its own roster of professionals—from Hollywood stunt drivers to Indy 500 racers—in cities across the U.S. Almost

every other weekend has 400 teens signing up for the free, hands-on driving clinics. “We go beyond basic driver’s ed,” says Jim Graham, the program’s general manager. “We focus on skills like vehicle handling, hazard recognition and distracted driving.” Driveithome.org and teendriversource.org are other sites that help adults become better driving coaches.

Still, most families do pay for some instruction. In New Jersey, the average cost of six hours of required classes is \$300. “I would love to see our culture and country adopt the mindset that this is an investment in a life skill,” says Fischer. DrivingMBA, an Arizona school with two campuses, charges \$800 for its 19-hour basic course. It includes a parent class, classroom study, hands-on instruction and time spent in an elaborate simulator. “Letting teens experience car crashes through a simulator is a powerful tool,” says DrivingMBA partner Charles Sobczak.

New technology, like simulators once reserved for flight training, has boosted road safety. MyKey is one innovative system that comes standard on most Ford vehicles. Its many features include letting parents set a top speed or keeping the radio on mute until seat belts are clicked. In a 2011 study, the Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia found that 50 percent of teens killed in teen driver accidents had not buckled up. “It boggles the mind that teens—who grew up in car seats—forget to buckle up,” says Fischer. Other safety systems on the cusp of becoming mainstream include a steering wheel that vibrates when you drift out of your lane and radar detectors to alert you if a car is in your blind spot.

Whatever combination of private, public, parent- or tech-centered instruction you choose, Fischer offers up some important tips. “Driving habits start the minute you bring your baby home from the hospital. If you have a lead foot, are an aggressive driver or text and drive, guess what message you’re sending?” When it comes to buying a child’s

first car, she says older is not always wiser. “You want a vehicle with key safety features, air bags and electronic-stability control at a minimum.” AAA.org and IIHS.org are two sites that rank the safest cars for teens.

Yes, it takes a village to learn how to steer. But since the first Model T rolled off the assembly line, owning a car has become a rite of passage. They’re humanized in movies, raced in sporting events and glamorized in Super Bowl commercials. Our love affair with them shows no signs of slowing down—so long as our kids can safely come to a complete stop.



Saud Shah

THE FINE ART OF STOPPING A BULLET

**MEET THE VIRGINIA RETAILER WHO DRESSES THE REAL
JAMES BONDS.**

“Most people who walk into our shop don’t realize what’s going on back there,” Abbas Haider tells me as he finishes explaining the intricacies of bulletproof underpants.

Haider is the founder of Aspetto, a custom bulletproof clothier, which he runs along with Robert Davis. The front room of their small store in Fredericksburg, Virginia, is littered with silk swatches from Italy, wool remnants from

leftover suiting and lists of measurements, all the makings of an old-school tailor shop. The back, however, is full of what the owners call “ballistics,” but most of us would refer to it as bulletproof gear.

Haider explains that in his world, ballistics is what we civilians might call armor. He is also careful to clarify that every piece of body armor is, technically, merely bullet-resistant, not bulletproof. “Nothing in this world can be genuinely bulletproof, because there will always be something in development that can penetrate it.”

While Aspetto does large contract orders for vests and shirts (small, medium and large), the company’s specialty is its high-end, custom-design work. Its products include three-piece suits, dress shirts, backpacks, helmets, traditional Middle Eastern garments and even boxer shorts, which do a very good job of protecting the femoral artery from bleeding out if shot. The clothes are often based on European runway designs, and samples are sent back and forth to get the fit right. By focusing on high fashion, Aspetto hopes to catch up to the international recognition of Miguel Caballero, a Colombian-based bulletproof clothing designer who held an all-bulletproof fashion show last year in Mexico City.



Aspetto's bulletproof clothing includes a suit jacket with bulletproof panels sewn in. Credit: Michael Ip for Newsweek

Haider and Davis say they are obsessed with making their bulletproof attire look less, well, bulletproof. Instead of sewing ballistic panels into clothing, the duo designed hidden compartments in the lining for the panels, the texture of which are reminiscent of tough sponges. The armor is zipped in and can be removed to dry-clean the garment. This design requires an extremely lightweight bulletproof material, one that was unavailable when Aspetto began, so the company partnered with Point Blank Enterprises to create a lightweight material capable of stopping handgun

bullets and bomb shrapnel while zipping seamlessly into the lining of a suit. Though the material is half the weight of standard bullet-proof panels, it still meets safety standards and can fend off 9mm, .40 caliber and .45 semiautomatic rifle bullets, among many others.

The newly improved bulletproof vest weighs less than four pounds and is one-quarter-inch thick. The stuff is also stronger than what most cops wear. “Our ballistic package exceeds the NIJ, DEA and FBI testing requirements,” Haider says, referring to standards set by the National Institute of Justice, Drug Enforcement Administration and Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Both Davis and Haider are understandably reluctant to discuss their dealings with the three-letter organizations, the FBI, CIA and DoD. “We are doing”—they pause to first discuss it among themselves—“some stuff with these agencies.” After much badgering, they hint that their new bulletproof, fire-retardant undershirt, the ballistic outlines of which cannot be seen beneath other clothing, was of interest to “some” agencies.

While they are mum on United States government contracts, which are typically lucrative, Haider says Aspetto has picked up two government clients in the Middle East: It now dresses the security company for members of the Afghan government and some women in the Saudi Arabian royal family.



Abbas Haider, Aspetto Founder and CEO, right, and Robert Davis, COO, try on some of the suits they've created at their shop in Fredericksburg, Va. Credit: Saud Shah

After the introduction of their lightweight ballistic material, Aspetto's founders were approached by a representative of the Saudi royal family. Some women in the family, unnamed for their protection, were interested in purchasing dresses. The women were seeking jalabiya, also called jalabib and jalibab, a caftan-like gown that can be decorated with intricate embroidery. The jalabiya, a loose-fitting garment, has an attractive flowing characteristic Aspetto was asked to preserve. Not to stray from the family's luxurious standards, the garment had to be made of fine, delicate silk.

"They asked us to develop some styles which integrate ballistics to protect the stomach, heart and lungs," Haider says. The process is ongoing, as samples are passed from the company to the women through an aide. "We've created several possibilities so far. Because it's all silk, the protective material is almost like a tape. It holds the weight

of the ballistics, but it allows the jalabiya to retain the fluid movement of silk.”

For its Afghan clients, Aspetto is creating kurtas, also called a kameez, a long shirt for men that goes past the knees. “Our client trains local law enforcement in Afghanistan and requested we make the cloths customarily worn by Afghan men bulletproof. They wanted suits and undershirts but also needed kurtas,” Haider says. “The kameez is not ornate, but we have to make it of the best cotton, as well as undetectably bulletproof, because the security detail will be wearing it surrounded by parliament members.”

In an effort to keep their bulletproof goods out of the wrong hands, Aspetto does a careful background check for all clients. “Anyone who wears our ballistics, we have to know who they are,” Haider says. In the United States, they do a state and federal check for felonies. International shoppers must first register their information with the clothier, which then checks it against records at the ministry of interior of the client’s home nation.



Bulletproof items created by Aspetto include a backpack with removable bulletproof panel. Credit: Michael Ip for Newsweek

While government orders are constant, individual orders spike for Aspetto at times of bad news. After Connecticut's Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, Haider and Davis received their most unusual and upsetting order: a child's backpack. Bulletproof backpacks are common combat gear, but they said it was depressing making a pink backpack for an elementary-schooler.

After the Charlie Hebdo shooting, Haider says, "a big advocate of freedom of speech, who you have probably seen on Fox News," inquired about Aspetto's bulletproof undershirts—the ones you can't see under a dress shirt. That undershirt is their most popular item, most commonly purchased by anti-narcotics authorities, businessmen abroad and dignitaries.

With government contracts in hand and their lightweight material perfected, Haider and Davis are turning their attention to the next big thing in bulletproof gear: wearable tech. They're also seeing a budding market for women's goods: Their last government contract bid included 1,500

undershirts for women. They've expanded their line of women's clothing and are working to perfect the fit of a woman's blazer when it's lined with bulletproof panels. "We have to be extremely careful to make sure a woman's suit is form-fitting with the added material and doesn't stand out from a normal, off-the-rack suit," Haider explains. "We currently have 500 fabric options, to ensure we can adapt to any wardrobe or style."



A suit vest by custom bulletproof clothier Aspetto. Credit: Michael Ip for Newsweek

Aspetto has also received an increased number of requests to reengineer luxury pocketbooks with a bulletproof lining. One woman brought in a Chanel bag, valued at several thousand dollars, and spent another thousand to have it made bulletproof. She declined to discuss the nature of her work, saying only that she needed it for business abroad.

All of this, of course, comes with a very high price tag. Aspetto suits cost \$5,000 to \$7,000; dress shirts are around \$1,000. "Your traditional good, tailored suit is \$2,000 to \$3,000," Haider points out. "We are protecting your life for \$5,000." And for another \$1,500, you can buy the

bulletproof boxers to cover the rest of your assets. No one ever said being like James Bond came cheap.



Christina Catherine

NICHOLAS MEGALIS GOES 'MEGA WEIRD'

THE 26-YEAR-OLD VINE STAR HAS PENNED AN ILLUSTRATED MEMOIR THAT'S PART 'MY BIG FAT GREEK WEDDING,' PART 'BEAVIS AND BUTT-HEAD.'

"One time I almost hit Steve Buscemi with my moped."

Nicholas Megalis and I have known each for only 20 minutes but already our conversation has veered way off course, into an anecdote that ends with the 26-year-old comedian/videographer/musician/writer executing a flawless Buscemi impression while imagining a hypothetical

in which the two exchange cell numbers to follow up on Buscemi's moped-related injuries.

Megalis's ability to craft this impromptu 10-second comedy bit comes as no surprise. Just three years after the launch of Vine—a Twitter-owned social network for six-second looping videos—Megalis is one of the app's most popular users. His 4.7 million followers display an enthusiasm that rivals the Beliebers, and he's snagged advertising deals with everyone from Coca-Cola to Ford. Megalis's first book, a hefty, illustrated-memoir-meets-short-story-collection called **Mega Weird**, goes on sale March 31.

Megalis started making Vines in 2013, after a serious skateboarding injury left him housebound for several months—as he puts it, "concrete plus teeth equals a bad night." His six-second shorts, which have evolved over the years to include props and elaborate setups, run the gamut from looping rap lyrics to quickie impressions of **hipsters, moms and celebrities**, plus a series of weirder bits, like "**The CEO of Mustard**." Standing concepts include TMZ parodies in which Megalis **shouts celebrity-related questions at fleeing animals**, and "**I don't know the words**," where he flubs his way through popular melodies. Megalis's best known Vine, which has more than 20 million loops to date, is a six-second rap **about gummy worms**.

At its launch, Vine wasn't marketed as a haven for the comedic—the app's initial promotions suggested sweeping landscape videos—but the network has been dominated by comedians, artists and stop-motion filmmakers, who spend hours, days or **even months** crafting short films. The app has also changed. Original Vine didn't allow users to pull in video from their camera roll or to edit footage; everything had to be made in one go. Those were the days when you could shoot for 12 hours and end up losing all of it, Megalis tells me wistfully. "Now people use green screens," he says. "Actual green screens."

Megalis inherited his love of the theatrical from his father, whom he mentions more times in our two hours together than most 26-year-olds would in two months. Tom Megalis is an animator, director, actor, painter, writer and designer, and, like the rest of the Megalis family, has a **Vine account** (with more than 86,000 followers). He's also responsible for the illustrations in *Mega Weird*.

Megalis's mother, a graphic designer whom he lovingly describes in the book as "little as shit" (and upon whose eyes he swears when hammering home a point), still mails perishable care packages from Ohio to Megalis's apartment in Brooklyn, New York. When Megalis was a kid, his dad built sets for his magic shows, performed in the family room while his younger sister flicked the light to simulate a strobe effect. "I felt like I was performing for 5 million people even then," Megalis says. "It's a psychosis, really."

After graduating from high school—"I think I had the worst attendance in my high school's history"—Megalis went on tour with his band, Nicholas Megalis. He moved to New York two years later, in 2009, and lived off money he made writing commercial jingles. (Without prompting, Megalis rattles off a song he wrote for acne medication: "Acne, acne, what the heck is acne? It's pimples on your face, and it's really distracting. Process the pimple: It's a hormone imbalance. Wash your face right now, or it becomes a zit palace.")

Today Megalis makes Vines with what he calls his "art crew," which includes his creative partner, a sweet and quiet fashion designer/stylist who helps him with camera angles, costumes and makeup. Megalis alludes to having turned down movie roles, television parts and record deals over the last few years, but decided to write a book after being approached by publisher Judith Regan, perhaps best known for getting fired by HarperCollins for trying to publish O.J. Simpson's pseudo-confession memoir **If I Did It**—it was later published, and she eventually won a \$10

million settlement from News Corp. Regan launched her own publishing house, Regan Arts, last year. Other recent titles include Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassan's best-selling **ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror**.

"I have an appreciation for male adolescent humor, which I think [Mega Weird] definitely has," says Regan, who describes Megalis as "My Big Fat Greek Wedding meets Beavis and Butt-head.... But I also love his vulnerability. I love his anxiety; I just love his point of view. I don't love every book I publish, and this is one I fell in love with."

Mega Weird is in some ways an extension of Megalis's Vine persona—it's earnest and quirky and artistic. But it's also far more intimate. Megalis tells me he doesn't consider it a book for children (many of his fans are young), and I both agree and don't. Mega Weird is profanity-laced and some of its stories are at best PG-13, but the book also has a youthfulness that makes it feel like a letter from Megalis now to Megalis of 10 years ago. "They will call you 'different,' they will call you 'weird' and hallelujah!" reads the book's prologue. "Take it as a sign that you are doing something right."

"If I could speak to myself right now, like go back in time and talk to myself at 14 years old, I would say, 'Dude, Nick, pay attention for one second, OK? Don't stop doing voices. Don't stop drawing. Don't stop making comedy videos after school,'" Megalis tells me. "It was the groundwork for my future."

It's hard to imagine Megalis as an outcast. He warns me early in our chat that he's loud—a loud talker, a loud laughter—but that volume comes across as more of a boisterous enthusiasm that manifests in everything from smiles at strangers to effusive compliments for the waiter who keeps popping by to refill our water glasses. It's a gregariousness that makes Megalis the only person I've ever seen hang on to their Starbucks cup in a restaurant without earning dirty

looks from the wait staff. It also strikes me as exhausting for a New Yorker.

When I ask Megalis if he's keen on what seems a logical next step in his career—a TV show—he launches into a series of hypothetical questions. Would he be allowed to choose the cast? The crew? Would he have complete authority over the show and everything related to it? "Nobody is going to love your work more than you," he says of editorial control. "Nobody is going to lose sleep over it more than you."

That reticence disappears when Megalis starts talking about Meerkat, a month-old app that lets users stream live video from their phone cameras and promote it via Twitter, a sort of Snapchat meets Livestream that he describes as "a new outlet for unedited, raw, balls-to-the-wall live content" (Twitter just launched a competing app named Periscope). While Meerkat made waves at South by Southwest, and has been talked about as a groundbreaking tool for the 2016 presidential race, Megalis is using it for everything from streaming his morning coffee routine to ranting about his mom. "Meerkat is a place for the people who can improvise and really monologue," he says. "Or for insane people. One or the other, I can't tell yet."

Megalis is also working on two albums, one in his kitchen and another for a studio. He already has one full-length album, an EP and two singles on iTunes, including "**Gummy Money**," an extended cut of which briefly topped hip-hop charts. "I've written a bunch of albums about life and magic and falling in love and losing my mind and I've put all of this work and sweat and heart into it," he says. "And then a rap song about gummy worms goes to No. 1 in five countries."

Megalis will be doing an author event for Mega Weird at Barnes & Noble in Union Square on March 31 at 7 p.m.

01

GARDEN OF GOOD AND EVIL

Lausanne, Switzerland—U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry talks with members of the U.S. delegation after a meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif at the Beau Rivage Palace Hotel on March 27. In the days before a March 31 deadline, the major powers and Iran were pushing each other for concessions for a preliminary nuclear deal, with Tehran demanding an immediate end to sanctions and the freedom to continue sensitive atomic research.



Brendan Smialowski/Pool/Reuters

02

STEP BY STEP

Tikrit, Iraq—An Iraqi soldier sweeps a building during a search for ISIS fighters on March 30. Since early March, a coalition of Shiite militias, regional tribes and the national army have been struggling to take back the city in a battle that has become a defining test of Iraq's military leaders. ISIS fighters have held off the attack with booby traps, snipers and suicide bombers. U.S. warplanes joined the assault at Iraq's request in late March, prompting some Iranian-backed Shiite militias to withdraw from the fighting in protest.



Khalid Mohammed/AP

03

PRIMARY COLORS

Jere, Nigeria—Women wait to register for voting in presidential elections on March 28. At least 15 people were shot dead by gunmen in northeast areas and voting was extended by a day due to technical glitches and fears of violence perpetrated by Boko Haram. The election had been delayed by six weeks to give authorities time to crack down on the Islamist militants, who have been driven back in recent weeks. President Goodluck Jonathan was in a tight race with former military ruler Muhammadu Buhari, who has vowed to tackle Nigeria's security crisis and stamp out corruption.



Jerome Delay/AP

04

BURIED

Sanaa, Yemen—Rescuers uncover the body of a man from under the rubble of a house destroyed by an airstrike on March 26. Saudi Arabia and its Gulf regional allies launched military operations, including airstrikes in Yemen, to counter what they say are Iranian-backed forces besieging the southern city of Aden. Shiite Houthi militias took over Sanaa earlier this year, forcing out the government of U.S.-backed president Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi, who took refuge in Aden before fleeing the country. Egypt is among the Arab countries that have said they may send troops to Yemen, amid growing fears of a proxy war between Iran and Arab countries led by Saudi Arabia.



Khaled Abdullah/Reuters